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A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LANCASHIRE FUSILIERS  
(FORMERLY XX REGIMENT).



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GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, FIRST VISCOUNT BOYNE.

This engraving, after a portrait in the possession of Gustavus Russell Hamilton-Russell, eighth Viscount Boyne, was presented to the author by Lt.-Colonel S. F. Charles, commanding the 3rd Battalion.

A HISTORY  
OF THE  
LANCASHIRE FUSILIERS

(FORMERLY XX REGIMENT)

BY

MAJOR B. SMYTH, M.V.O.

---

VOLUME I.

1688-1821.

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DUBLIN :  
THE SACKVILLE PRESS, 11 & 12 FINDLATER PLACE.

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1903.





*ERRATA.*

Page 173. For the officers *read* the names of the officers.

Page 288. For *re read* *he*.

Page 341. For disaffecter *read* disaffected.

Page 385. For Ambrose L. Wynard *read* Ambrose L. Wynyard.



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P R E F A C E.

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WITHIN two years of the date of the publication of the First Edition of the HISTORY OF THE REGIMENT, the entire issue was exhausted, and in the following decade not a single copy was procurable.

Since then, momentous events have occurred both in the Regimental body and in the Army. Two battalions (3rd and 4th) have been added to the Regiment, bringing a large addition of officers and non-commissioned officers from other regiments, as well as an increase of young officers and soldiers from the ordinary sources. This alone, in the opinion of those competent to judge, justified, nay called for, a Second Edition.

But there was a further incentive to take up this work, in the desire, while the facts were still fresh, to place on record the events of the final campaign in the Soudan, ending with the battle of Omdurman, which received its benediction in the memorial service held over the ruins of Gordon's Palace at Khartoum.

The long struggle in South Africa, the important part taken in it by the 2nd Battalion, the unprecedented fact of the two Militia Battalions and of Companies from the three Volunteer Battalions (the suggestion for whose employment originated from an officer of the Regiment) being on active service in the field, associated in the same military operations with the Regulars, and the useful work performed by the various detachments of Mounted Infantry, contributed to make it imperative that the work should be speedily carried out.

Of the earlier periods much additional information has been included, the narrative of events authenticated, and, where it seemed necessary, the scope of the work enlarged.

Changes in the army with regard to administration, disciplinary rules, arms, etc., have been touched upon in their chronological sequence.

To Mr. G. C. Moore Smith, M.A., I am under a great obligation for generously allowing me to read the first proofs of the Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton.

To the late Colonel L. Marshall I am indebted for the picture of the Battle of Minden. For the other pictures I desire to thank Colonels F. Hammersley, S. F. Charles, R. W. Deane, Sir Lees Knowles, Bart., D.L., M.P., and Mr. J. L. Collison Morley (late of the 2nd Battalion). I would thank also Viscount Boyne, who through Captain Foyne Randolph, very kindly sent me a photograph of an oil painting of Gustavus Hamilton, the first Viscount, for the picture which forms the frontispiece of Volume I.

To the Reverend E. J. Reeve, Vicar of Fleetwood and Chaplain of the 3rd Volunteer Battalion, I wish to express my gratitude for his kindness in reading and correcting the proof sheets.

B. S.



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## CHAPTER I.

1688—1689.

James the Second—Causes of the Revolution—William, Prince of Orange—Landing at Torbay—Attitude of the Army—Commissions to Raise Regiments—Sir Robert Peyton—XX. Regiment—Captains of Independent Companies—Names of Officers Appointed—Early Days—Death of Sir Robert Peyton—Colonel Gustavus Hamilton—Seven Additional Companies—Officers.

JAMES the Second had barely reigned three years when the Peers, spiritual and temporal, decided that he should be replaced on the throne by his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange. In doing so they knew that they were rightly interpreting the will of the people. Without entering into even a brief outline of the causes which led to the deposition of King James, it may, without impropriety, be stated that the cause of the Revolution was, in its origin, religious. The abrogation of the Test Act of 1673; the imprisonment and prosecution of the seven Bishops, were the culminating events which terminated his reign. James, during the short period he was on the throne, had augmented the strength of the army by twelve regiments of cavalry and nine of infantry.<sup>1</sup> He fostered the military spirit, and was frequently in camp with the troops on Hounslow Heath. These measures were taken, not for the defence of the Kingdom,

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<sup>1</sup> "English Army Lists and Commission Registers." vol. ii.

but rather for his personal safety and the security of the House of Stuart. The dismissal of Protestant officers, and replacing them by others who were, or professed to be, Roman Catholics; the disbandment in Ireland of five thousand private soldiers without their personal effects,<sup>1</sup> were some of the illegal acts which alienated from James the active sympathy of the army. The Prince of Orange was invited to come to England. He did so, and on November 5th, 1688, he landed at Torbay with an army of 1,400 men. This army was composed partly of British and partly of Dutch subjects.<sup>2</sup> The Army in England which James had so carefully and assiduously increased did not participate in the general rejoicing, but stood apart in an attitude of sulky indifference. It had been assembled to resist an invasion, but found that it was being handed over piecemeal to the invader. It had neither helped to bring in the new, or to retain the old, King.

William marched from Torbay to Exeter, where he arrived on November 8th. From the date of his landing at the little Devonshire seaport to February 13th, 1689, when the crown was formally offered to him by the Marquis of Halifax, may be called the period of the "Revolution." Whilst at Exeter, William granted commissions to several

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<sup>1</sup> "English Army Lists and Commission Registers," vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> There were British and Dutch regiments, known, of course, by the names of the Colonels. The 5th Northumberland Fusiliers and 6th Royal Warwicks are the lineal representatives of the British regiments on the Dutch establishment.

gentlemen to raise regiments. Three were thus brought into existence, and were the direct product of the "Revolution." They synchronise with William's accession to the throne. The first was a regiment of horse, now the 7th Dragoons, and the other two, regiments of foot—the Nineteenth and the Twentieth (XX.).<sup>1</sup>

Sir Robert Peyton,<sup>2</sup> whose commission was dated November 20th, 1688, raised in Exeter and its vicinity six Independent Companies,<sup>3</sup> and this is the origin of the Regiment which has since continuously served in the army. It was known first by the names of the different Colonels, then as the XX. or East Devonshire Regiment, and since July 1st, 1881, as the Lancashire Fusiliers.

After the accession of William III. fresh commissions were issued to all officers appointed during the interregnum. They bore date February 28th, 1689. The names of the gentlemen who were thus

<sup>1</sup> The 21st had been raised in Scotland, and, being then armed with fusils, became known as the Scots Fusiliers. The regiment came on to the English establishment in 1688, when it first came South, but lost its proper order of precedence. It was styled the "Regiment of Scots Fusileers"; in 1697, "The Scots Fuziliers."—"History of British Army," page 180.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Peyton, of East Barnet, knighted at Whitehall 12th July, 1670. He is described as "a topping anti-courtier" in King Charles the Second's time. He served under William of Orange in Holland, and was granted the rank of colonel in September, 1688. Sir Robert came to England with the Prince.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the captains appointed to command the Independent Companies under Sir Robert Peyton were :—

Frederick Luttrell,	Jos. Pigman,
Edmond Bowyer,	Robert Carey.
William Coward,	Walter Vincent.

Charles Barrington.

Not one of these officers were serving on the following 28th February.

commissioned, and most of whom are identified with the early years of the Regiment's history, are here given :—

Sir Robert Peyton, Knight, Colonel.

John Gibson,<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel.

#### CAPTAINS.

Gervais Lillingston.<sup>2</sup>

Samuel Birch.

George Whitehead.<sup>3</sup>

Jacob Ashley.

#### LIEUTENANTS.

Samuel Freeman,<sup>4</sup> Captain-Lieutenant.

George Wrightson.<sup>5</sup>

William Freeman.

Anthony Stoughton.

Michael Verbon.

Christian Murray.

<sup>1</sup> John Gibson, of Alderstone, Edinburgh, obtained a captain's commission in the Dutch Army 9th March, 1675, and was promoted Major in 1688, and Colonel 16th February, 1694. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Portsmouth; Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Newfoundland in 1679. Knighted by Queen Anne, 6th September, 1705.

<sup>2</sup> In vol. iii. "English Army Lists" (Charles Dalton) we find that Wm. Weightman was gazetted Captain *vice* Jervase Lillingston, dated Whitehall, 8th March, 1694. Captain Weightman served in the Cadiz Expedition, 1702, and in the West Indies. Promoted Major in 1703, and Lieut.-Colonel before 1706.—Vol. iii., pp. 328-371.

<sup>3</sup> Promoted Major 17th March, 1694, and Lieut.-Colonel in 1702. In this year he embarked with the regiment for Cadiz, and in 1706 he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of Colonel Nicholas Prince's Regiment of Foot.

<sup>4</sup> Promoted Captain in December, 1691. Exchanged.

<sup>5</sup> Served in Sir T. Newcomen's Regiment in Ireland. Promoted Captain before 1702. Embarked with the Hamiltons for Cadiz in 1702, but left it in the following year.

## ENSIGNS.

Samuel Lee.

Robert Dahnahoy.

George Sandford.

Vincent Crull.

Alexander Gibson.

George Wrighton, Adjutant.

John Harrington, Quartermaster.

John Hamilton, Chirurgeon.

Of the regiment's early days under Sir Robert Peyton there is no record. It did not see active service against the troops of King James. The half-hearted skirmishes at Wincanton and Reading (December 9th, 1688) disposed of that Monarch. We can only assume that they were passed much as they would be in our time under similar circumstances—namely, in clothing, equipping, and drilling the men. Colonel Sir Robert Peyton's term of command was brief. The exact date of his death is unknown, but it occurred between February 28th and June 1st, 1689. On the latter date one of the most distinguished officers of the day was appointed to the command. The quaintly-worded notification reads :—"Gustavus Hamilton to be Colonel of that Regiment of Foot, late Sir Robert Peyton's."

Colonel Augustus Hamilton at once raised seven additional companies, and most probably brought the regiment to the full establishment of 780 men, or 13 companies of 60 men. The officers who

joined when the strength was augmented are as follows :—

### MAJOR.

Kilner Brasier.<sup>1</sup>

### CAPTAINS.

John Hamilton.<sup>2</sup>

Joscelin Hamilton.

Sir John Peyton<sup>3</sup> (a relative of the late Colonel).

Ric Cope.<sup>4</sup>

Bernard Ward.<sup>5</sup>

Vernon Parker.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Served in Viscount Mountjoy's Regiment in Ireland. Present at the siege of Londonderry. Married Anne, second daughter of Sir H. Brooke. On the 16th February, 1694, he was promoted Lieut.-Colonel; and was appointed Colonel of a newly-raised regiment in Ireland in 1708.

<sup>2</sup> Previously belonged to Viscount Mountjoy's Regiment. He embarked with Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment for Cadiz in 1702. Captain Hamilton was one of the officers who had Queen Anne's leave to be absent when the regiment was ordered to the West Indies in September, 1702. He was borne on the strength of the regiment in 1706.

<sup>3</sup> Second son of Sir John Peyton, the third Baronet; succeeded as fourth Baronet of Isbham. Appointed Captain in Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment. He was for some time the Quartermaster of the regiment. On the 28th March, 1702, he was upon half-pay. Queen Anne appointed him Governor of Ross Castle, Co. Kerry. Died in Dublin 23rd March, 1721.—"Burke's Extinct Baronetage."

<sup>4</sup> Does not appear in any "Army List" after 1689.

<sup>5</sup> Served in Viscount Mountjoy's Regiment in Ireland, previous to being appointed to Gustavus Hamilton's. Embarked with the regiment for Cadiz in 1702. Died when Lieut.-Colonel of the regiment in 1703.—"Treasury Papers," vol. 89, No. 154.

<sup>6</sup> This officer had served as Second Lieutenant of Grenadiers in Viscount Mountjoy's Regiment. He was appointed Captain of the Grenadier Company in Colonel Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment (10th June, 1689). Commission renewed by Queen Anne in 1702. He was serving in 1706.—"Additional MS." 9,762.



## LIEUTENANTS.

Charles Stewart. <sup>1</sup>	William Sanderson.
Edward Baily.	Thomas Barnes.
William Colhoon.	Stuart Rowan.
Miles Wildman.	David Landay.

## ENSIGNS.

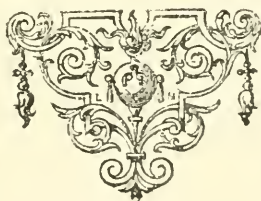
Edward Crofton.	Thomas Irby.
Hugh Boyd.	Caleb Barnes.
George Hamilton.	Thomas Kitchen.
Thomas Townley.	

## SUPPLEMENTARY COMMISSIONS.

Ric Brook to be Ensign to Captain Jervais Lillington (4th September); Chaplain, James Sing (11th July).

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<sup>1</sup> Promoted Captain-Lieutenant 30th April, 1694. Commission renewed in 1702. Appears to have left the regiment before 1706.



## CHAPTER II.

1689—1690.

The Standing Army—Regiments to be Disbanded—Rates of Pay—Mutiny of the Royal Scots—Mutiny Act Passed—Carrickfergus—Landing of King William—March of the Army Southward—Battle of the Boyne—Position of the two Armies—Defeat and Flight of the Irish—Casualties—Drogheda—King William Reviews the Army in Dublin—General Douglas to Athlone—Garrison Refuse to Surrender—March to Limerick—No Bread for the Troops—Assault on the City—Losses—Siege of Limerick—Siege Raised—Winter Quarters.

**D**URING his reign William III. was frequently hampered by the action of Parliament in objecting to the maintenance of the Army. Not the least of the King's difficulties was the cry of "No standing Army."<sup>1</sup> The dangers of the Revolution had

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<sup>1</sup> The Standing Army of England dates from the 7th January, 1661. Prior to that date there was no permanent military establishment under the Monarchy.—Dalton. Eighteen years elapsed before the Mutiny Act was passed. The "faithful Commons" were not actuated so much from feelings of economy or parsimony, but from a fear of a "Standing Army," which many of them regarded as inimical to the best interests and freedom of the country. The army was not an expensive institution at this time. The rates of pay for regiments on the English Establishment were as follows :—

	Pay.	Servants' Allowances	Total.
	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.
Colonel ...	20 0	4 0	1 4 0
Lieut.-Colonel ...	15 0	2 0	0 17 0
Major ..	13 0	2 0	0 15 0
Captain ...	8 0	2 0	0 10 0
Lieutenant ...	4 0	0 8	0 4 8
Ensign ...	3 0	0 8	0 3 8
Quartermaster ...	4 0	0 8	0 4 8
Sergeant ...	—	—	0 1 6
Corporal ...	—	—	0 1 0
Private ..	—	—	0 0 8

scarcely passed away before a Royal Warrant (January 15th, 1690) was issued, directing that five regiments on the Irish establishment "were to be broken." The regiment of Colonel Gustavus Hamilton was one of the five. But this Warrant was cancelled on the 12th of the following month.

On December 1st, 1697, the House of Commons resolved that all forces raised since September, 1680, should be disbanded. This was intended to sweep away all those regiments raised by both James II. and William III. Having escaped these, the only attempts at abolition in its long history, the Hamilton's regiment, which had been sent to Ireland in the autumn of 1689, was one of six regiments in garrison at Carrickfergus during the winter of 1689-90. It was thus mercifully spared the horrors of the army which held, under Marshal Schomberg, the en-

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IRISH ESTABLISHMENT.

					£	s.	d.
Colonel	...	...	...	...	1	4	0
Lieut.-Colonel	...	...	...	...	0	16	6
Major	...	...	...	...	0	13	6
Captain	...	...	...	...	0	9	6
Lieutenant	..	...	...	...	0	4	6
Ensign	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
Sergeant	...	...	...	..	0	1	6
Corporal	...	...	...	..	0	1	0
Private	...	...	...	...	0	0	7

Inseparable from the Standing Army is the Mutiny Act, which originated thus:—The Royal Scots were ordered to embark for the Continent and, after some exhibitions of discontent, broke into open mutiny while on the march to the port of embarkation. They seized four guns, and marched northwards for Scotland, but were overtaken at Sleaford, where they surrendered. London was alarmed, and, in a panic, the House of Commons passed without opposition the first Mutiny Act for six months. With the exception of two short periods, this Act has since been annually renewed. The annual renewing of the Act now does little more than remind people that a Standing Army was considered illegal by their ancestors,—“The Army Book for the British Empire,” p. 330.

trenched camp at Dundalk. William the Third landed at Carrickfergus on June 14th, 1690. Ten days later the whole army (37,000 men),<sup>1</sup> under the King's personal command, had reached Loughbrickland, in the County Down. William was anxious to close with his enemy, for political and military reasons made it inadvisable to delay.

As he advanced, the Irish, under James, fell back. Early in the morning of Monday, June 30th, William's army, marching in three columns, from a point still known as King William's Glen, came in sight of the opposing forces, under James, encamped in the Valley of the Boyne. This river once crossed, the road to Dublin was clear. The chief ford was opposite to Oldbridge, an insignificant hamlet of one stone house and some hovels. The house was loopholed and entrenched. In the river, separated by a distance of from 150 to 200 yards, were three islands. About 20 yards from the river bank, on the south side, the meadows recede into four long ridges. On the last of these stood a clump of trees enclosing the little church of Donore. Entrenchments had been thrown up by James along the edge of the river. Three miles south of Donore is the village of Dunleek, and through it ran the high road to Dublin. Five miles from Oldbridge was the village of Slane, and the key of the position was from Slane Bridge to Dunleek.

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<sup>1</sup> "English Army Lists" (Dalton), vol. iii., p. 12.

On the night of June 30th, William's army bivouacked on each side of the glen. The 1st of July was a lovely summer's day, and as early as four o'clock both armies were on the move. William had 36,000 men, while his opponent had but 30,000, of whom 6,000 were French. As a distinguishing mark the French and Irish wore a white badge in their hats, while the "sign of battle" for William's men was a green bough. The King's plan was to turn the left flank of the enemy, which was near Slane Bridge. His army was drawn up in two lines. About the centre of the second was the brigade of Bellasis, consisting of the XX., 22nd, and the Lisburn Regiment.<sup>1</sup> The older regiments, composed of men experienced in war, were placed in the first line, with those recently raised in the second. The Boyne was the first battle fought by our standing Army.<sup>2</sup> From nine to ten o'clock William's artillery kept up a continual fire on the enemy's position. As soon as he knew that Count Schomberg had crossed the river at Slane, he gave the order for the whole army to advance.

The Dutch troops led the attack on the hamlet at Oldbridge, the centre of James's line. As they clambered up the south bank the Irish troops fell back to the first ridge. At this moment William was personally directing the assault on the enemy's right flank. As some of his regiments floundered

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 104,

<sup>2</sup> Burnett.

in the bog, the Irish Dragoons, seeing their opportunity, charged with great gallantry. The Dutch gave way, but, on being rallied by William, repulsed the dragoons with heavy loss. Meanwhile, the attack on the centre of the position was more successful. The regiments advanced in good order, and by the Irish Foot Guards alone were they opposed with anything approaching determination. The others wavered, and, being nervous of an attack on their flank, they turned and fell back, unheeding the protestations of their officers. The Irish cavalry charged, and thus saved the infantry, who were rallied on the heights of Donore to make a last stand. The hedgerows afforded them excellent cover, but no inducement could counteract their fears, and a disorderly retreat on Dunleek began. Throwing away their arms, they were at the mercy of the pursuing cavalry, and were alone saved from utter destruction by the bravery of their own Horse. James lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners 1,600 men, and William 500.

On the following day Drogheda surrendered, and on the July 3rd infantry marched to Balbriggan, the cavalry pushing on to Dublin.

The King reviewed his troops near Dublin on the 7th and 8th, and on the 9th the army proceeded southwards. One division, of which Gustavus Hamilton's regiment formed part, was detached, under General Douglas, to invest Athlone, where they arrived on July 17th. The garrison refused to surrender, and Douglas found that it was

too strong to be carried. His communications with Dublin were threatened by Sarsfield, and, as he had no bread for his troops, he raised the siege, and marched to Limerick to rejoin the Army under the King. This division was beset with difficulties. In front it had to be prepared to meet a surprise from Sarsfield, while in its rear was the Athlone garrison. Unaware of the position and strength of the enemy in his immediate vicinity, General Douglas deemed it prudent to avoid the main thoroughfares, and, therefore, conducted the retreat along the bye-roads, which gave him the advantage of the passes and the open country. In this, as in most retreats, the troops suffered severely. For four days they were without bread, and the country afforded no mitigation of this privation.

To avoid Banagher Bridge, where the enemy were in considerable force, Douglas made a detour by Balliboy and Roscrea, and then pushed on with all haste to Limerick. The natural defences of Limerick were much too strong for William's army, which was weak in artillery. The disaster to his provision convoy at Ballyneedy, and the unusually heavy autumnal rains, caused the siege to be raised. Before doing so, however, an assault was made on the town on the 27th August, and, after three attempts, the attack failed. The cost was a heavy one, as the casualties reached 1,500,<sup>1</sup> of whom 500 were killed.

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<sup>1</sup> "British Standing Army," p. 127.

On Sunday, the 31st of August, the army withdrew from Limerick, the retreat being covered by a rear-guard of 5,000 men, and the whole went into winter quarters.





## CHAPTER III.

1691.

Campaign of 1691—Siege of Athlone—Fall of the Town—Battle of Aghrim—Defeat of the Irish—Death of Saint Ruth—Casualties of the XX.

THE campaign of 1691 was the most important, as it was the most ably conducted, of the three phases into which the war had run. The Commander-in-Chief was General de Ginckell, a Dutch officer of proved capacity. The headquarters of the army were at Mullingar, and from this town it advanced on the 18th of June to Ballyburn Pass, near Twoy, and on the following day to Athlone, driving in the enemy's outposts, and occupying all the surrounding hedges and ditches.

Athlone stands on both sides of the Shannon, just above where it enters Lough Ree. The Leinster side was called the English town, and the Connaught the Irish. The towns were connected by a stone bridge, and were protected by walls, the Irish town having earthworks outside the walls. The river was extremely rapid. The old Norman castle and barracks were both on the Connaught side. When the enemy's scouts were driven in, General de Ginckell had one battery planted on the north-west side of the English quarter, a second beneath it, and close to the river

side, and a third was placed near the Dublin gate. By noon on the 20th a breach was made in the north-west bastion. De Ginkell called a Council of War, and this body, with a promptness rare in the history of Councils, resolved to storm the town that evening. The attack was delivered at five o'clock, and the English town was carried with a loss of 20 killed and 40 wounded. The Irish town had now to be captured. At this juncture the French army, under Saint Ruth, advanced from Ballinasloe, and encamped beyond the Irish town. Both armies were hampered for want of transport. De Ginkell could not pontoon the river, and Saint Ruth was unable to bring up his siege train. On the 22nd the guns in the English town maintained a constant fire on the north-east side of the castle. The bridge was the point round which the severest struggles raged, but the English gained ground slowly. The Grenadiers fired the old mill-house which rose on the arches of the bridge. On the evening of the 27th of June the last arch was captured by the English, and on the 30th the assault was made on the Celtic quarter. Two thousand men, composed of 43 grenadiers from each regiment, and 33 specially-selected men from the other companies, formed the storming party. They were well led, for each regiment sent three captains, six subalterns, and seven sergeants. General Mackay commanded the whole, and seldom has an attack been heralded by so weird a signal as was this, for the toll of the death bell from the church

steeple was the knell that set in motion, at 6 p.m., this desperate venture. The first group of 60 Grenadiers, clad in body armour, with a green bough, "the sign of battle," in their hats, were led into the ford, close to the bridge, by Gustavus Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> the Colonel of the XX. They were followed at intervals by the whole storming party. From the moment the signal rang the stormers were met with a heavy fire. With an impetuous rush they forced the breach in the wall at the Celtic side of the ford. Driving the Irish before them, they made straight for the bridge. In a few moments the broken arches were planked over, and the British were pouring into the town. In less than two hours the Irish quarter had fallen, and the English were in Connaught. Saint Ruth retreated next day, leaving the castle to its fate.

After the fall of Athlone, Saint Ruth made for Aghrim, a small village four miles to the west of Ballinasloe. The position was so good that he decided to offer battle on this ground. de Ginckell, having placed Athlone in a state of defence, followed in pursuit of Saint Ruth as far as Kilcashel, occupying that place on the 11th July. With his staff, de Ginckell made a careful reconnaissance of the Irish position.

The main road from Ballinasloe to Loughrea passes through the village of Aghrim, and a mile to the south of the village stood Kilcommodon Church. About half-way between Aghrim and Kil-

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<sup>1</sup> Macaulay ; " English Army Lists " (Dalton), vol. iii., p. 22.

commodon the ground attains its greatest height. The camp of the Irish lay behind this hill, which is generally called Aghrim Hill. At its highest point stood two ancient Danish forts. To the north was an extensive bog, which protected the whole left of the Irish position, and even circled round the rear of it. Directly beneath the hill of Aghrim, and along its front, was another bog, about three-quarters of a mile across; beyond this bog rose the ridge of Urrachree, nearly parallel to the Aghrim Hill. Through the centre of the bog a brook wended its way, making the ground on either side of the small valley soft and impassable for cavalry. The right of the Irish position was the weakest point, as here the bogland was firm.

There were two roads suitable for cavalry—the Ballinasloe and Urrachree roads. Such were the chief features of the position chosen by Saint Ruth to give battle to his opponent. On the evening of the 11th of July orders were issued for an advance on the following morning. To modern minds the orders seem a little strange. Every company was directed to turn out as strong as possible, without beat of drum, and with ammunition in bandoliers. Five pioneers were to march at the head of each regiment, and to be in readiness to act in unison, the Grenadiers to be on either wing of their corps, with two grenades per man.

Promptly at six o'clock on Sunday morning the English regiments marched from Ballinasloe—in-

fantry by the bridge, cavalry by the ford above the town, Danish and Dutch contingents by a second ford below the town. As they crossed the river all were formed in two lines, then the favourite formation for attack. General Mackay's division consisted of the 2nd Queen's, XX., 23rd, Lord George Hamilton's, Foulkes', 12th, and 22nd regiments. As at the Boyne, the XX. was in the brigade of Brigadier Bellasis.<sup>1</sup> It was twelve noon before a heavy mist cleared, and de Ginckell could see the disposition of Saint Ruth's army. It was drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry on the flanks. Tassé commanded the right, Sarsfield the left. The old castle of Aghrim was entrenched and occupied by musquetaires. The Irish were in order of battle on Aghrim Hill, and William's army on Urrachree ridge. Though there was some artillery fire, both commanders seemed to hesitate to bring on a general engagement. Even after an action by the Inniskilling and Danish Dragoons, who seized a ford by which the Irish attempted to cross, de Ginckell proposed to his chief officers that the attack should be postponed. This was opposed by General Mackay, who urged that a feint should be made on Saint Ruth's right flank, while the real attack was driven home on his left where three roads led to the front, centre, and rear of the enemy's position. It was not until half-past four that the British left made a general advance. Two hours had passed before Saint Ruth's right

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 155.

had been pressed back far enough to justify the attack on his centre being put in motion. The infantry of the centre attack—the 19th Regiment leading—pushed across the bog, wading thigh deep in the marshy peat. They drove the enemy from fence to fence, and, in the excitement of their success, forgot to time their advance in conjunction with the movements of the infantry on their right, who had to cross the bog at its widest part, and of the cavalry, who had to force the road at Aghrim Castle. These forward soldiers of the centre cleared the bog, and were soon masters of the ground between it and the steep rise of the hill.

They had now to pay the penalty for their disregard of orders. The Irish cavalry swept down, and enveloped them upon all sides. Earle, the Colonel of the 19th, was equal to the crisis. He rallied the men, and urged them not to give way. They did not falter, but fought valiantly. Colonel Earle was twice taken prisoner. The losses on both sides were heavy, and to this day the scene of the conflict is known as the Bloody Hollow.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, the regiments on the right were wading through the bog at its widest part. The enemy who were opposed to them made no sign—not a shot was fired, not a man broke cover. As the British floundered through the bog they thought the Irish had been withdrawn, all was so quiet and still. They were rudely undeceived. When within twenty yards of the first line of

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 158.

hedges they met with a heavy, well-directed fire. Many fell, and so sudden and unexpected was the attack that the whole body staggered and wavered. They closed their thinned ranks, and rushed the hedges. The Irish disputed every yard of ground, but were beaten back from hedge to hedge.

While these hand-to-hand struggles were in progress the Irish cavalry came up. Their infantry at once cleared away, and the British infantry were compelled to retire almost to the protection of their own guns.

This was the first phase of the fight, and, considered as a whole, the attacking forces had gained no material advantages. The pressure on de Ginckell's right flank was relieved by the cavalry, who, supported by the 2nd Queen's and XX., made a detour along the Ballinasloe road, and by a bye-road which ran westwards from the Ballinasloe road and across the Coololla bog.<sup>1</sup> This brought them on the left flank, and in rear of the Irish position. The stream which divided this bog was impassable except at one point a short distance above the castle, and even here only two men at a time could pass this boggy quagmire.<sup>2</sup> The castle was held by French musquetaires, and, notwithstanding their fire, the passage was effected. Rapidly forming, the cavalry charged on the firm ground that bordered the bog. At the same moment the 2nd Queen's and XX. occupied a

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Still known as Luttrell's Pass.



large, dirty ditch close to the castle, and successfully controlled the fire of the musquetaires.

The conflict between the infantry in the bog continued. Now one side, and then the other, gained ground. The British on the right redoubled their efforts, and, being reinforced, made a combined and vigorous attack, under General Talmash. The Irish were driven with great loss across the bog and on to the side of the hill. At this time General Mackay attacked the enemy's right with the cavalry of the left wing, while the cavalry which had crossed at the castle were charging the Irish left flank and rear. A fierce struggle covered the whole hillside. Loud, wild cries seemed to rise from a vapour of flame and smoke. The Irish fought as they had never been known to fight. But they were now to suffer a loss which even their indomitable gallantry could not redeem. Saint Ruth, the soul of the defence, whose presence inspired the Irishmen with a confidence that one of their own countrymen, except, perhaps, Sarsfield, could not give them, was riding slowly down the "Bloody Hollow" when he was struck to the earth by a chance shot. His shattered frame was covered and hidden, so that the knowledge of his death should not become general, but this could not restore, in the crisis of the fight, the one capable commander who had the power of winning a victory.

At this critical moment a second misfortune befel them. The ammunition was found to be



exhausted. Fresh supplies were hurried up, but they were useless, as the bullets had been cast a great deal too small for the calibre of the muskets.<sup>1</sup> Without a leader, short of cartridges, with a determined and well-led soldiery pressing in front and on both flanks, the Irish fell back, and were soon in disorder. Their retirement became a disastrous rout. As long as the light lasted they were pursued, and heavy was the toll that they paid in the waning hours of that summer evening. In killed alone the loss of Saint Ruth's army was not less than 7,000 men, while the King's numbered 1,000 killed and 1,200 wounded. The party in the castle, being cut off from the main body, surrendered. The casualties of the XX. in this phase of the battle were six killed and nine wounded.

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<sup>1</sup> Ascribed to treachery by the Irish soldiers.



## CHAPTER IV.

1691—1702.

Condition of the Irish Soldiery after Aghrim—March of the Army to Galway—Surrender of the Garrison—Honours of War—March from Galway to Limerick—Defence of the City—Investment—Extended Lines of the Army—Intention to raise the Siege—Information by General Luttrell—Reports Circulated that the Siege was to be Raised—Preparations for the Attack, 15th September—Cross the River—Successful Attack—Cessation of Hostilities—Limerick Surrenders—Hamilton's XX. Remain in Ireland—Not Engaged in Flanders—Changes Among the Officers.

AFTER Aghrim the Irish were broken up into disconnected atoms, varying from 20 to 40 men, obeying no leader, but most of them making their way to Limerick, and some to Galway. Four days after the battle de Ginckell started for Galway. As soon as he appeared before it the town surrendered with the "honours of war." By the terms of the surrender the defending force was permitted "to march to Limerick with their arms, six pieces of cannon, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted, and bullet in mouth,"<sup>1</sup> conditions of capitulation which read as being foolishly liberal, but which accomplished de Ginckell's object. The enemy was forced into one position, while his own lines of communication were materially diminished, and his army concentrated for a supreme effort on the last stronghold remaining to the army

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 168.

of James. On July 28th the army marched from Galway, where three regiments were left as a garrison. General de Ginckell was obliged to halt at Nenagh for four days for the purpose of obtaining supplies. Having scarcely any transport, his army was without bread. The "nobility and gentry" gave up their coach horses for the public service, but this was only a temporary expedient, and was no substitute for a properly organised transport service.

On August 11th the march was resumed, and on the 14th the army was at Limerick. Three forts made a chain of outworks round the town. The star fort on King's Island was in better condition than during the first siege, and was at this time connected with the town by a covered way.

General de Ginckell, under cover of apparent inactivity, was vigorously pushing on his preparations. He brought a siege train and pontoons from Athlone. The fleet was ordered up the river. Every regiment had to make 2,000 fascines.

Limerick was invested on August 25th. As they approached the town the divisions spread outwards, and closed all possible channels of communication, while the van, under General Mackay, attacked the enemy's outposts, and caused them to abandon two forts, but they made good their retreat into a third—a stone fort. The fire of the English batteries reduced the houses to ruin. Still, there was every indication that a stern defence would be made. The lines held by the investing army were

of such a vast extent that the men were in the trenches every alternate night, in addition to being on duty all day. The first breach was made in the walls on September 9th. The lateness of the season, the dread of the heavy autumnal rains, and the natural difficulties to be overcome were so great that de Ginckell had decided to raise the siege. But of this he told no one. He vigorously pushed forward the work of the siege. At a moment when he almost despaired of success certain overtures were made to him by Major-General Henry Luttrell, then serving with the Irish army, but who wished to make a profitable transfer from the losing side. Luttrell gave valuable information, and promised to assist de Ginckell from within the city. It was now reported from the British lines that the siege was to be raised. To give colour to this guns were dismounted, and other arrangements made for withdrawing.

The real move was made on September 15th. On the evening of this day, as soon as the darkness afforded sufficient cover, all the boats, rafts, etc., were gathered together at an appointed place on the Shannon, and were delivered for safe keeping to the 2nd Queen's and 400 grenadiers. This was the advance guard of the division that was to force the river. The command was entrusted to Sir David Collier. The grenadiers were led by Captain Ketchway, 11th Regiment; Parker, XX.; and Alnut, of Drogheda's Regiment.<sup>1</sup> They

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 174.

were supported by General Talmash and five regiments of infantry, six guns, and a proportion of cavalry. At 9 p.m. the whole marched to a point on the Shannon about a mile above St. Thomas's Island, and the same distance from the town.

In mid-stream there was a small island ; the river was fordable on the town side of this island. The advance party were sent across to the island in tin boats, and about midnight the pontoon bridge was begun.

At daybreak a party of the Irish, under General Clifford, disputed the passage from the Clare side. The Grenadiers waded the river, manned a house, and lined the hedges until the cavalry crossed.

The Irish, after a short fight, were driven back, and General Talmash, with the remainder of the division, effected the passage unmolested. The Irish cavalry, under Sarsfield and Shildon, were encamped not far from the spot where the British crossed. Without waiting to be attacked they fled to Sixmilebridge. On September 22nd de Ginckell made a general attack on the west side of the town, but the real intention was to carry Thomond Bridge, which connected the County Clare with King's Island. It was protected by two forts on either side. All the approaches to it were exposed to the fire from the King's Castle, the walls of the English town, and some adjoining gravel pits were strongly held by the enemy. At first the fire was so heavy that the men fell back. The Grenadiers cleared the pits, and after a short

fight the Irish retreated. A major in the French Army ordered the drawbridge to be raised at Thomond Gate, as he was afraid the English would enter with the fugitives. But, by doing so, he cut off the retreat of the Irish, whose loss at this point in killed alone was very heavy.

A lodgment was now effected close to the head of the bridge, and the garrison was separated from the cavalry, which lay between Sixmilebridge and Ennis. A cessation of hostilities was arranged on September 28th, and on October 3rd Limerick surrendered, and with it the last hope of James the Second was dissipated for ever.<sup>1</sup>

Hamilton's XX. remained in Ireland after the peace ; no doubt it found plenty of occupation in the settlement of the country. It did not form part of the army which fought during the war in Flanders, from 1691 to 1697, and which was ended by the peace of Ryswick.

The changes among the officers are the only scraps of information that have been gleaned of the regiment during these years of service in Ireland in the last decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "History of the British Standing Army," p. 177

<sup>2</sup> The first is the appointment of Captain Thomas Philips to be Captain, *vice* Jervaise Lillingston, 31st June. Then an exchange is gazetted. Exchanged from Colonel Thomas Earle's Second Regiment, Geo. Hamilton to be Lieutenant to Captain Geo. Whitehead, 24th March. John Peters was appointed Lieutenant to Captain Ric Cope, 19th December. This officer had left the regiment before 1702. Robert Stoughton was promoted Captain-Lieutenant on the 23rd April. He also was out of the regiment in 1702.

In the year 1694 the following officers were promoted or joined :— Charles Knox, to be Lieutenant to Lieutenant-Colonel Kilner Brasier, 28th April ; Charles Stewart, to be Captain-Lieutenant, 30th April ; Latham Doherty, to be Ensign in the Colonel's Company, 30th April ;

William Gill, to be Lieutenant to Captain John Hamilton, 30th April ; John Hamilton, to be Ensign to Captain Ric Cope, 30th April ; Jeremiah Law, to be Lieutenant (22nd November), and John Ridge to be Ensign, to Major Geo. Whitehead ; Hampton Stewart, to be Lieutenant to Captain Sinclair, 24th December, and Henry Thompson to be his Ensign on the same date ; Arthur Webb, to be Captain, *vice* Major Astley, but no date is given.

In 1695 the following changes took place :—John Walker, to be Lieutenant to Captain Vernon Parker, 31st January ; William Sibald, to Lieutenant to Captain George Wrighton, 1st March ; William Bunbury, to be Ensign to Captain B. Ward, 12th October.

In 1696 the *Gazette* announcements for Brigadier-General Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment of Foot were :—Henry Lynn, to be Adjutant (he had left the regiment in 1705) ; Thomas Bennet, to be Ensign to Captain Stone, 1st April ; James Ash, to be Captain *vice* R. May, 10th August ; Thomas Sinclair, to be Second Lieutenant to Captain Vernon Parker, 10th August ; John Hannington, to be Ensign to Captain Wrighton, 10th August ; Geo. Rowan, to be Lieutenant to Captain Wm. Weightman, 1st December ; John Henderson, to be Ensign to Captain Jas. Ash, 1st December. The changes in the next few years are few.

In 1697 :—Fred Hamilton, to be Captain *vice* Arthur Webb, 1st April ; John Macuistian, or M'Caiston, to be Quartermaster, 21st April. Appointed Ensign, 10th November, 1699. Reappointed as Quartermaster, 2nd June, 1702.

The first appointment in 1698 was that of Jas. Dogherty, to be Chaplain, 8th January. He obtained the Queen's permission to be absent from the regiment when it went to the West Indies in 1702, but he was serving with it in Ireland in 1706. Ric Milburn to be Captain *vice* Cope, 20th August. He had served previously in the Earl of Drogheda's Regiment, and was placed on half-pay in 1698. He was appointed Captain in Colonel Stanhope's Regiment 1st March, 1702.

In this year there were very few promotions or first appointments :—Dockuray Brook to be Lieutenant to Captain Fred. Hamilton, 9th February ; Theo. Brook, to be Lieutenant to Captain John Hamilton, 10th November.

In the next two years—1700 and 1701—there were apparently no appointments ; but in 1702 there was an augmentation, probably for the War of the Spanish Succession, for we find a " List of Commissions. Granted to the Officers of the Companies that were added in Ireland," dated 1st March, 1702.

#### COLONEL GUSTAVUS HAMILTON'S REGIMENT.

Fred Hamilton, Captain.  
— Butler, Lieutenant.  
John Mehux (*sic*), Ensign.  
Ric, Lord Lambert, Captain.  
Vincent Crull, Lieutenant.  
Andrew Singleton, Ensign.

NOTE.—On the accession of Queen Anne the commissions of all officers serving were renewed.



## CHAPTER V.

1702—1704.

Peace of Ryswick—Death of James II.—His Son Proclaimed by the King of France—Parliament Dissolved—French Ambassador Leaves London—Illness and Death of King William—Accession of Queen Anne—War with France—Marlborough to Command—Regiment Detailed for Sea Service—A Dreaded Service—Service in the West Indies—Conditions of Life on Board Transports—Expedition to Cadiz—Embarkation of the XX.—Disputes between the Services—Disembarkation at Rota—Surrender of the Forts—March to St. Mary's—Want of Discipline—Repulse at Matagorda—The Army Re-embarks—Transports Sail for England—XX. Sail for the Leeward Islands—Call at Antigua—Attack on Guadaloupe—Heavy Loss of Officers—Note on the Expedition to Guadaloupe—XX. Stationed at Jamaica.

THE regiment did not take part in the war in Flanders, which began in 1691, and was brought to a close by the Peace of Ryswick, which was signed on September 11th, 1697, but was, as we have seen, on the Irish establishment.

The four years of peace which followed the treaty agreed to at Ryswick was first threatened by the quarrel as to the succession to the Spanish throne. The King endeavoured to avert war by two different partition treaties, but these were of no avail. The Parliament fulfilled the conditions of their agreement with the States by sending a force to Flanders. There was no fighting. The summer and autumn of 1701 were consumed by lengthy negotiations.<sup>1</sup> Whilst the decision for peace

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<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, pp. 693-720.



or war hung in the balance, James the Second died on September 16th.

The King of France, Louis the Fourteenth, at once proclaimed the son of James, King of England. This was a direct breach of the Treaty of Ryswick.

As soon as the intelligence reached William, he dissolved Parliament, and ordered the French Ambassador to leave London.<sup>1</sup> This drew the whole people round the King. Everywhere the electors were in favour of the war party. The country was determined that a son of James should not reign; but William's days were numbered. Worn out by sickness, the unconquerable spirit of the man remained undiminished. A fall from his horse hastened the end, and on March 12th, 1702, he died at Hampton Court Palace, regretting only that he could not remain to complete the work which had been thrust upon him.

Eleven battalions had been added to the army (from the 29th to the 39th). The accession of Queen Anne caused no change in the policy of the late King. War was declared against France and Spain on May 4th, and the Earl of Marlborough was appointed to the command of the British, Dutch, and auxiliary troops on the Meuse. It was not the good fortune of the XX. to be included in Marlborough's army. Consequently, it did not participate in those brilliant victories which have not been since surpassed, but was condemned to an in-

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<sup>1</sup> Macaulay.

glorious, if not less dangerous, duty. By a special Royal Warrant, dated St. James's, June 1st, the regiment of Gustavus Hamilton, XX., was one of six<sup>1</sup> detailed for sea service. At this date, and through the whole course of the century, one of the most distasteful and dreaded features of military service was the liability of being sent abroad. The voyage alone was full of horrors which were but too well known. This, combined with the prospect of service in the West Indies, made the army most unpopular, and the pressgang a necessity to fill the ranks. The voyages were long, and the men were crowded in small, hired transports reeking with foul odours, but this was not the worst. It was the common practice to keep troops on board ships for weeks in a home port before sailing. In 1705 troops for Jamaica were on board a transport from May 18th until October. They had fever and small-pox. When the medical supplies were exhausted they were told they would receive such relief as was possible.<sup>2</sup>

To remedy the unsanitary state of the ships, it was ordered that they should be frequently fumigated with brimstone, sawdust, or wet gunpowder. This was to be done before seven a.m., when the bedding was brought up and aired. To prevent the circulation of the air being interfered with, married couples were not allowed to hang up blankets except in certain specified places. The

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<sup>1</sup> The other regiments were the 6th, 19th, 34th, 35th, 36th.

<sup>2</sup> "Secretary's Common Letter Book," July, August, October, 1705 ; "History of British Army," p. 571.

men were divided into three watches, one of whom was always on deck, and in fine weather every man was to be on deck all day, and kept in health and strength by shot drill.

The men had to wash their feet every morning in two tubs of salt water ; to comb their heads every morning with a small-tooth comb ; to shave ; to wash all over. The mortality, notwithstanding these too suggestive precautions, was heavy. Of 8,000 men sent to Lisbon in 1706 barely half that number reached their destination.

In 1710, of a detachment of 300 only 100 joined their regiment. The regiments that sailed with Wolfe for Louisbourg in 1758 were three months at sea in transports, most of them not registering 200 tons. Further illustrations of the horrors of life on board transport ships could be multiplied but one must suffice. A private named John Deane, of the First Guards, whose journal, kept during the War of the Spanish Succession, was privately printed in 1846, pithily summed up his experience in a transport as "continual destruction in the foretop ; the pox above board ; the plague between the decks ; hell in the forecastle ; and the devil at the helm."<sup>1</sup> These were the conditions, not in the least exaggerated, of existence in the transports during the greater part of the eighteenth century.

With this description of sea service, for which the XX. had been specially nominated, we will now continue the narrative of events.

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Army," vol. i., p. 553.

An expedition of 10,000 men, under the Duke of Ormond, was sent to Cadiz. Of this force the XX. formed part; and, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel George Whitehead, embarked at the Isle of Wight.<sup>1</sup> The fleet left St. Helen's on July 1st, and reached Cadiz on August 23rd. The expedition was a complete failure. Ormond was not strong enough to control the Admiral, Sir George Rooke. Soldiers quarrelled with sailors, and sailors with soldiers, and each among themselves. Three valuable days were lost in discussions as to the best plan of landing. Cadiz and the adjacent coasts were defenceless.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Embarkation return of Brigadier-General Gustavus Hamilton's Regiment, 1st July, 1702 :—

The Colonel's Company	...	...	52 men	} On board the
The Lieut.-Colonel's Company	...	...	52 „	
The Major's Company	...	...	51 „	} “Berwick.”
Captain B. Ward's Company	...	...	51 „	
„ George Wrighton's Company	...	...	51 „	
„ John Hamilton's Company	...	...	51 „	} “James and Sarah.”
„ James Ash's Company	...	...	51 „	
„ Fred. Hamilton's Company	...	...	49 „	
„ V. Parker's Company	...	...	52 „	} “The Friend's Adventure.”
„ T. St. Clair's Company	...	...	49 „	
„ W. Wightman's Company	...	...	51 „	
„ Lord Lambert's Company	...	...	49 „	
Total	...	...	609	

One of the soldiers of Captain St. Clair's Company proved to be a woman.

In addition to the officers named above, the following embarked with the regiment :—Captain Charles Knox, Captain John M'Caiston, Lieut. Henry Thompson, Ensign Lathom Doherty. It is probable that there also served in this expedition Lieuts. Butler, V. Crull, W. Sibald, Henry Lynn (Adjutant, 5th March, 1696), G. Rowan; Ensigns A. Singleton, W. Bunbury, James Hamilton (Lieut. and Adjutant before 1706, possibly the successor to Lieut. H. Lynn in the Adjutantcy, but this cannot be stated as a certainty.

<sup>2</sup> “War of the Spanish Succession,” pp. 42-46.

At length a decision was arrived at, and, at early dawn on the morning of the 26th, the troops commenced to disembark between the promontory of Rota and Fort Santa Catalina. Two days' rations of bread, cheese, and beer were issued to every man. In rear of each regiment was an officer of artillery, with 20 Chevaux-de-Frise. No drum was to be beaten, no colour uncased, save in the boat of the General commanding. When a drum beat, then the lines of boats were to row; when it ceased, the men were to lie upon their oars. No soldier was to fire under pain of death while in the boat, or to shoulder his musket when landed. At four o'clock precisely 1,200 British Grenadiers sprang ashore, and the rest followed in quick succession, though a high wind was rolling the sea upon the beach with such fury that more than 30 boats were upset, many soldiers being drowned, and many more having to swim ashore, or wade through water that flowed over their cravats.

Four guns, which were firing on the disembarking troops, were carried at the point of the bayonet and spiked under cover of the fire of H.M. ship "Lennox." In the afternoon the English and Dutch began their march towards Rota, a small town on the north side of Cadiz Bay.

On the following day, the 27th, Fort Catalina surrendered, though the French had not long previously strengthened it by a new battery of 40 guns.

On the same day Rota was surrendered by the

Governor, who was favourable to the British. From Rota the army marched on Port St. Mary's, an ancient, unwall'd town. It was the favourite country resort of the wealthy citizens of Cadiz. The town was entered, and the undisciplined state of the army led them to indulge in every excess.<sup>1</sup> Nothing was sacred, the very churches were desecrated, and what they could not carry away was destroyed.

This shameful and impolitic conduct caused the Spaniards to resist the invasion by every possible means. Every peasant became a soldier.

Rota was recaptured, and the Governor was shot for treacherously surrendering the town to the allies. Early in September an unsuccessful attack was made on Fort Matagorda. The batteries of the allies sank so deep in the soft sand and marshy ground, as they recoiled in firing that, after a loss of 65 men killed and wounded, further attempts were relinquished. The Spaniards were gaining strength daily, and the rumour that an army of 40,000 men, commanded by the Marquis de Villadarius, was advancing, was of itself sufficient to cause the allies to return to their ships, with a loss of prestige, but with a gain of much plunder.<sup>2</sup>

The fleet and transports sailed for England, with the exception of the 19th, XX., 35th, and 36th Regiments (four of the six originally selected

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<sup>1</sup> "War of the Spanish Succession," p. 59; "A History of the British Army," vol. i., p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> "War of the Spanish Succession," p. 59.



for sea service), which were ordered for duty to the Leeward Islands on September 24th, 1702, with a division (six ships) of the Royal Navy, under Commodore Walker. The ships called at Antigua, where the military forces were increased by some troops under Colonel Codrington.

Of this expedition very little is known. Between March 12th and May 6th a descent was made on the Island of Guadaloupe, where the troops razed the fort, burnt the town, ravaged the country, and re-embarked.<sup>1</sup> There was serious fighting, for the following officers of the XX. were killed :—Captains Charles Knox, John M'Caiston, Ensign Henry Thompson, and one wounded—Captain Thomas St. Clair,<sup>2</sup>

The force then retired to Nevis, where they suffered great privations, and must have perished by famine had they not been relieved by Rear-Admiral Graydon, who was on his way to Jamaica.<sup>3</sup> Extensive arrangements were made for further operations against the French and Spanish settlements in the West Indies. The Earl of Peterborough was nominated to command the expedition,

<sup>1</sup> This expedition has, up to the present time, attracted but little attention. There was severe fighting, and great hardships. It is mentioned in Smollett's "History of England," but in no other. In Lord Stanhope's "War of the Austrian Succession" it is ignored, while such a recent standard work as "A History of the British Army," by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, is altogether silent upon it.

<sup>2</sup> "M. E. Book 4"; "English Army Lists," Charles Dalton.

<sup>3</sup> Smollett's "History of England." p. 933.

but the design was abandoned. The XX. remained in Jamaica until 1704.

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NOTE.—The expedition against Guadaloupe is one of several in the West Indies of which but little is known. Captain Collins made a careful search among the original despatches and papers in the Record Office, but failed to find even a remote reference to the fighting at Guadaloupe. The Hon. J. W. Fortescue, one of the best living authorities on military history, has also failed to trace any documentary evidence, beyond what is stated above, of this expedition.





## CHAPTER VI.

1704—1713.

Return from Jamaica—Stationed in Ireland—Armed with musket and bayonet—Pike abolished—English and French tactics—Rates of pay in Mutiny Act—Stoppages—Board of Control—Clothing to be issued—Prices to be paid—Retirement of Gustavus Hamilton—Colonel John Newton Appointed Colonel—Battle of Almanza—XX. embark for Portugal—March in the interior—Winter quarters—Defensive operations in 1708—Active operations, 1709—Battle of La Gudina—Gallant stand of British Infantry—Winter quarters—Campaign of 1710—XX. at Olivenza in 1711—Discovery of a Secret Treaty—At Tarra in 1712—Treaty of Utrecht—XX. proceed to Gibraltar in 1713.

THE regiment was stationed in the South of Ireland on arrival from the West Indies in the summer of 1704.

Although the bayonet had been introduced into the army by General Mackay after the Battle of Killiecrankie, in July, 1689, it was not the weapon with which the English soldier was armed until 1706. The pike, up to this, had been the arm of the infantry soldier. The last time the pike was issued was in 1703, when every sixth man carried one. The remainder were armed with muskets.

The Secretary of State issued an order on June 12th, 1706, that every man was to be armed with a musket and bayonet, both of improved patterns. The musket carried a bullet weighing 16 to the pound. This was deemed an advantage over the French musket, which was made for bullets 24 to the pound.

But the superiority of the British Army over the French was undoubtedly in their fire-discipline and tactics. After the manner of Gustavus Adolphus, the British fired by platoons, the French by ranks.

For the first time the rates of pay of all ranks below the status of commissioned officers were embodied in the Mutiny Act of 1703. This was due in part to the scandals connected with the office of the Paymaster-General. The only legitimate stoppages from the pay of the soldier were specified in the Act—namely, clothing money, one day's pay to Chelsea Hospital, and one shilling in the pound to the Queen. These unjust deductions have long since been swept away. In 1706 the Duke of Marlborough established what was known as the Board of Control—a committee of six general officers—by whom all the clothing business of the army was managed.

As a result of the recommendations of this Board, a Warrant was issued on January 14th, 1707, defining the articles to be issued to the soldier, and ordering patterns to be sealed. For the first year these articles were to be issued:—A good cloth coat, well lined, which may serve for the waistcoat for the second year; a pair of good thick kersey breeches; a pair of good strong stockings; a pair of good strong shoes; a good shirt and neckcloth; a good strong hat, well laced. A recruit was to receive a shirt, a neckcloth, and new waistcoat, in addition.

At a later date prices were fixed for various

articles. No soldier was to pay above five shillings for a shirt, except it be ruffled at the bosom, and then sixpence more; two shillings for a pair of gaiters; five shillings for a pair of shoes; one shilling for a sword scabbard; and sixpence for a bayonet scabbard.

Major-General Gustavus Hamilton was permitted to dispose of the Colonelcy of the regiment. He did so, and was succeeded by Colonel John Newton, from the Foot Guards, who was appointed on May 1st, 1706.

On April 25th, 1707, the allied forces, under the Earl of Galway, were defeated by the French and Spaniards, commanded by the Duke of Berwick (son of James II.) at Almanza. This defeat materially changed the aspect of affairs in Spain.

Additional troops were shortly afterwards selected for embarkation for Portugal, and the XX., together with the 5th, 39th, and a newly-raised regiment (since disbanded), commanded by Colonel Stanwix, embarked at Cork on May 22nd, 1707, and landed at Lisbon on June 8th. This seasonable reinforcement, arriving soon after the defeat of the allies at Almanza, in the south-east of Spain, and at the moment when the enemy, having captured Serpa and Moura in the Alemtejo, had seized on the bridge of Olivenza, in Portuguese Estremadura, and menaced that important place, revived by its presence the drooping spirits of the Portuguese. These four regiments, being the only British troops in that part of the country, were disembarked in

great haste, and reached the frontier under the command of the Marquis de Montandre. The enemy, having resolved to besiege Olivenza, or to oblige the Portuguese to give battle, had all their heavy cannon and fascines in readiness before the town; but, upon the approach of the four regiments, they retired in great precipitation, and sent away their cannon to Badajoz.

The British halted at Estremoz, a strongly-fortified town of the Alemtejo, situated in an agreeable tract of country on the Tarra, and remained in this pleasant quarter during the summer. They afterwards encamped in the fruitful valley of the Caya, near Elvas, having detached parties on the flanks to prevent the enemy making incursions into Portugal.

The regiment was engaged in this service until November, when they went into quarters in the frontier towns of Portugal. In the spring of 1708 the XX. again took the field, and was encamped at Fuente de Supatores, between Elvas and Campo Mayor. The British division was soon afterwards increased to six regiments, by the arrival from England of the 13th and a newly-raised regiment (Paston's).

The little army in the Alemtejo was commanded by the Marquis de Fronteira, but the characteristic inactivity of the Portuguese caused the services of the British to be restricted to defensive operations. The XX. was encamped in the autumn at Campo Mayor, and afterwards went into cantonments.

The regiment moved from its quarters early in 1709, and was soon actively engaged. It was encamped near Estremoz, and proceeded thence to Elvas on April 23rd, 1709. It was subsequently encamped with the army on the banks of the Caya, where the Earl of Galway, who had been removed from the army in Catalonia, appeared at the head of the British division. On May 7th, 1709, the Spaniards, commanded by the Marquis de Bay, made a movement to forage the adjacent country, when the Portuguese General (Marquis de Fronteira), contrary to the Earl of Galway's advice, sent the whole of his cavalry, together with the 5th, XX., 39th, and Paston's regiment across the Caya (in all less than 5,000 men) and drew them up on the plain of La Gudiña, which has given its name to the battle. The onset was begun by the Spaniards. The Marquis de Bay, leading the attack in person, made a charge upon the right of the allies, which consisted entirely of some Portuguese cavalry, who fled before the Spanish cavalry could reach them, leaving the flank of the British brigade exposed. The Portuguese cannon fell into the hands of the enemy; and their cavalry on the left also gave way. Lord Galway advanced at this juncture to recover the cannon, with the 13th, Stanwix's, and Galway's regiments, but his brigade was intercepted, and the greater part obliged to surrender, with Lord Barrymore, Generals Sankey and Pearce, and his other principal officers; he himself had great diffi-

culty in effecting his escape, his horse being shot under him.

At the same time the 5th, XX., 39th, and Lord Paston's regiments, though deserted by the whole of the cavalry, made a determined stand, repulsed three charges, then formed a hollow square, and in this formation withdrew fighting from the field.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Monthly Mercury* of May, 1709, this scene is thus described :—"The enemy advanced in full career, threatening the destruction of this little band, yet, with ranks unbroken and steady tread, these undaunted English calmly retraced their steps, exhibiting one of the noblest spectacles of war, and occasionally punishing the temerity of their pursuers with a cool and deliberate resolution which laid a thousand Spaniards dead upon the field."

The whole loss fell upon the British, and Lord Galway declared that he would never fight in company with the Portuguese again.<sup>2</sup>

The heroic conduct of this brigade impressed the enemy, and likewise the Portuguese, with a sense of British courage.

The XX., in common with the three other regiments of the brigade, acquired great honour by its gallant behaviour on this occasion. The regiment afterwards encamped at Elvas, was subsequently in position on the banks of the Guadiana, and again passed the winter in cantonments in the Alemtejo.

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<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, May 16-19th, 1709.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Army," vol. i., p. 530.

The casualties of the preceding campaign having been replaced by recruits from England, the regiment was again in the field in the spring of 1710, and was employed in the Alemtejo; but the army was weak and unequal to any important undertaking, and the French, having obtained some success in the province of Tras os Montes, occasioned a detachment to be sent thither.

In the autumn the army advanced across the Guadiana, and on October 4th arrived on the rich plains of Xeres de los Cabaleros, on the river Ardilla, in Spanish Estremadura.

It was determined to attack this place by storm on the following day, and the 5th, XX., and 39th regiments, having been selected for this service, under the command of Brigadier-General Stanwix, advanced at four in the afternoon to attack the works near St. Catherine's Gate by escalade.<sup>1</sup> A few minutes after the regiments had commenced the assault the Governor sent proposals to surrender, which were agreed to, and the garrison, consisting of 700 men, became prisoners of war. The army afterwards retired to Portugal by the mountains of Orlor, and went into quarters, which, considering that they were occupied by men fighting on behalf of the Portuguese, were most uncomfortable. The Portuguese were more than unfriendly, even brutal, in their treatment of their allies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 560 (Letters of Colonel Albert Borgard).



During the campaign of 1711 the XX. formed part of the army which assembled at Olivenza in May, and, having passed the Guadiana by the pontoon bridge at Jereumenla, advanced against the enemy, who took refuge under the guns of Badajoz.

The regiment was engaged in the capture of several small towns in Spanish Estremadura; but the summer passed without any achievement of importance. About this time a discovery was made by the Earl of Portmore, who commanded the British troops in Portugal, of a Clandestine Treaty<sup>3</sup> in progress between the Crown of Portugal and the enemy, in which the former had agreed to separate from the allies; to give an excuse for this, a mock battle was to have been fought, in which the British troops were to have been sacrificed. This treaty was broken off, but the British Government soon afterwards entered into negotiations with France.

The XX. remained in Portugal, and during the summer of 1712 was encamped on the plains of the Tarra. In the autumn a suspension of hostilities was proclaimed at the camp by Major-General Pearce, and the regiment went into cantonments.

On April 11th, 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. By its provisions the fortress of Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca, which had been taken by the English during the war, were ceded to Great Britain. The XX. proceeded to Gibraltar from Portugal in July, 1713.

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<sup>3</sup> "Annals of Queen Anne."



## CHAPTER VII.

1714—1742.

Gibraltar—Conditions of service—Gibraltar threatened—Critical situation—Arrival of reinforcements—Second demonstration—Thirteenth Siege—Sixty guns playing on the Garrison—Arrival of Colonel Fitzgerald—Cessation of the siege—Casualties—XX. embark for Ireland, 1728—Introduction of steel ramrods—Rates of pay—Colonels—Confusing regimental titles—Embark for England—Embarkation State, 1742.

Being abroad, at Gibraltar, the regiment escaped the unwise and wholesale reductions in the establishments that were enforced in 1714. Of the first seven years of their long sojourn in Gibraltar there is no record. It was not a comfortable quarter. But the lot of the British soldier at this period, and for long after, was not a happy one. In 1711 the troops in this fortress, from want of fuel, were obliged to burn their own miserable quarters.<sup>1</sup>

About the year 1715 George the First instituted a closer supervision over regiments by means of periodical inspections by General officers. He also insisted upon a uniform system of drill throughout the army.

On the death of the Colonel of the regiment—Lieutenant-General Thomas Meredith—he was succeeded by Colonel William Egerton.

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<sup>1</sup> "S. P. Dom," vol. xvi., p. 92; "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 51.

In 1720 the fortress was threatened by the Spaniards. Ceuta, a Spanish fortress in Minorca, had been besieged for many years by the Moors, and a formidable force, commanded by the Marquis de Leda, was assembled in Gibraltar Bay under pretence of relieving it, but with a secret intention of first surprising Gibraltar, for which purpose they had procured scaling ladders, etc. This armament was fitted out with supposed secrecy. Nevertheless, the British Ministry had timely notice, and, suspecting some finesse, despatched orders to Colonel Kane, the Governor of Minorca, to immediately embark a part of his garrison and repair to Gibraltar under convoy of the fleet in the Mediterranean. On his arrival he found Gibraltar in a very critical state of unpreparedness. The garrison consisted of the 5th, 13th, and XX. regiments. These battalions were weak in numbers; they were commanded by Major Hetherington, who, with the exception of Major Batteroux, was the only field officer in the place. Many officers were absent, indeed the manner in which they were permitted to absent themselves from their regiments, whether on service or stationed abroad, was one of the crying evils of the day.<sup>1</sup>

Only provisions for fourteen days were in the stores; a large number of Spaniards were in the town; and a fleet was before its walls.

Such was the feeble and impoverished state of

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<sup>1</sup> See "Colonial Papers," June-November, 1706.

affairs when Colonel Kane opportunely arrived with 500 men, provisions, and ammunition.

The British Commodore acted forthwith in so spirited a manner that the Marquis de Leda was obliged to sail for Ceuta, though he was still of opinion that the fortress might have been taken by general assault.

This scheme proving abortive, Gibraltar remained unmolested until the latter end of the year 1726, when the Spaniards, who had kept a watchful eye on the garrison, assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Algeziras. On January 20th, 1727, they encamped on the plain below St. Roque, and began to erect a battery on the beach to protect their camp. The formidable fleet of Admiral Hobson was then at anchor in the bay, but, as he had not received any intelligence of hostilities having commenced between England and Spain, he was with reluctance compelled to overlook the transporting of provisions, artillery, and ammunition from Algeziras (where the Spaniards had formed their depôts) to the camp. Brigadier-General Kane, who had been a second time ordered from Minorca to Gibraltar, lay under similar embarrassments. The operations of the enemy, however, tending towards a direct attack upon the garrison, he thought it prudent to order the Spaniards out of the town, and forbid their galleys anchoring under his guns.

Gibraltar had undergone considerable alterations since the siege of 1705. Several works had been

erected on the heights above the lines, which were distinguished by the name of Willis's batteries; the Prince's lines were also extended to the extremity of the Rock, and an inundation, with a causeway, was formed out of the morass that was in front of the grand battery.

The Count de Las Torres commanded the Spanish forces of nearly 20,000 men; and soon after his camp was formed, he advanced within reach of the garrison. The Brigadier, therefore, despatched a parley, to desire "that he would withdraw from the range of his guns, or otherwise he would do his utmost to force him." The Count answered, "That, as the garrison could command no more than they had power to maintain, he should obey his Catholic Majesty's orders, and encroach as far as he was able." Notwithstanding this insult, as war had not been formally declared, the Brigadier would not commence hostilities until the Spaniards, by their proceedings, should oblige him to take such a course in defence of his command. The British Government decided to reinforce the garrison. The 26th, 29th, and 39th regiments embarked on board six men-of-war at Portsmouth, and, in addition, the 25th and 34th regiments embarked at Cork.<sup>1</sup> The fleet sailed, under Admiral Sir Charles Wager, early in January, and, after a stormy passage, arrived in the Bay of Gibraltar on February 2nd.

Brigadier Clayton, the Lieutenant-Governor,

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The regiments from Cork did not reach Gibraltar until March 27th.

arrived with these reinforcements, and a Council of War was immediately summoned ; but the result was a determination not to fire upon the Spaniards.

On February 10th the enemy brought materials for batteries to the old windmill on the neutral ground. In consequence of this move a second Council was held, and it was agreed that the Spanish General had made open war by encroaching so far on the liberties of the garrison. In the evening the out-guard was withdrawn, and on the following afternoon the old mole and Willis's batteries opened fire on the Spanish workmen. They persisted, nevertheless, in carrying on the operations, and at night a large party marched down to the Devil's Tower, where they immediately broke ground and began a communication with their other work. This party was greatly annoyed in marching to its post, but was soon at a point under cover of the rock, where the guns could not be depressed to bear upon it. Numbers of the enemy deserted to the garrison, by whom, on the 17th, the Lieutenant-Governor was informed that the Spaniards were constructing a mine in a cave under Willis's, with the intention, if possible, of blowing up that battery. On receipt of this intelligence, the Engineers were sent to reconnoitre the cave, which, after some difficulty, they discovered, with a sentry at its entrance. A party was immediately stationed to annoy the communication with musketry. On the 22nd the Count opened fire on the garrison with 17 pieces of cannon besides mortars.

In the meantime, Sir Charles Wager and Admiral Hobson, with the fleet under their command, were constantly harassing the enemy by intercepting their homeward-bound ships; any that were captured being brought into the bay, and proving of great benefit to the besieged. On March 3rd the enemy opened a new battery of twenty-two guns, and directed its fire on the old mole and town; on the 8th, another of fifteen guns, bearing upon the old mole, which, it appears, proved a troublesome battery to the western flank of their approaches. On April 10th Colonel Cosby arrived in the "Solebay" with five hundred men from Minorca. Two days afterwards the Admirals sailed westward, leaving Commodore Davis behind with six men-of-war and the sloops. Lord Portmore, the Governor, arrived on the 21st with a battalion of Guards, and another of the line; also Colonel Watson, of the Artillery. On the 26th, the Spaniards opened a new battery against Willis's and the extremity of Prince's lines. Their batteries now mounted 60 cannon, besides mortars.

In the beginning of May the garrison had intelligence that the enemy intended to make an assault; precautions were accordingly taken, the guns on the lower defences being loaded with grape.

The Spaniards added still to their approaches, raising various communications to and from their advanced batteries. Towards the 16th and 20th their firing abated, but their engineers continued to

advance their trenches. The firing continued until June 12th, on which date, at about 10 p.m., Colonel Fitzgerald,<sup>1</sup> of the Irish Brigade, in the Spanish service, appeared carrying a flag of truce. On being admitted into the garrison, he delivered letters to Lord Portmore from the Dutch Minister at the Court of Madrid, with a copy of the preliminaries of a general peace ; whereupon a suspension of arms took place, and all hostilities ceased on both sides.

A Spanish journal of the siege is given in the " Historical Register " for 1727, and in fuller detail in Dodd's " History of Gibraltar."

From that journal it appears that of the 115 days from February 23rd to June 17th inclusive, the Spaniards had some casualties on every day but six, and that their losses amounted to 392 killed and 1,019 wounded. From other sources it has been ascertained that 895 deserted, and that more than 5,000 died of sickness or were invalided. Their total loss, then, was 7,286.

In the journal of an English officer, published in 1727, it was stated that the number of rounds fired by the guns of the different forts in Gibraltar was 52,292 ; during the first week in May the defenders seemed to " live in flames," so incessant was the enemy's cannonade.

The loss of the garrison was comparatively slight. The following is a return of the killed and wounded during the siege from February 11th to

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<sup>1</sup> " History of Gibraltar," J. H. Mann, p. 246.



June 12th, 1727. This information is taken from "The Political State of Great Britain," vol. xxxiv., p. 413 :—

Regiments	Officers Killed.	Men.			Total.
		Killed.	Wounded.	Died of Wounds.	
Foot Guards ... ..	...	2	19	2	23
Royal Artillery ... ..	1	11	16	2	30
Pearce's 5th Regiment ... ..	...	4	9	...	13
Lord Mark Kerr's 13th Regiment ... ..	...	7	26	3	36
Clayton's 14th Regiment ... ..	...	7	13	5	25
Egerton's XX. Regiment ... ..	1	8	12	8	29
Middleton's 25th Regiment ... ..	1	3	14	...	17
Anstruther's 26th Regiment ... ..	...	6	29	3	38
Disney's 29th Regiment ... ..	...	2	12	...	14
Bissett's 30th Regiment ... ..	...	8	15	4	27
Hayes's 34th Regiment ... ..	...	2	16	2	20
Newton's 39th Regiment ... ..	...	6	4	4	14
Detachments from the Regiments at Minorca, under Colonel Cosby, 18th Foot ... ..	...	6	17	1	24
Total ... ..	3	72	202	34	310

In addition to the foregoing, twenty-eight men died of disease and fourteen deserted, making a total of three hundred and fifty-two casualties. The actual loss, however, is found in most cases to be more than the numbers returned. Dodd makes a significant note :—" The Guards lost upwards of 106 men, and the other regiments in proportion, but 'twas chiefly by sickness, and, as it appears, after June 12th ; so that by the lists above, which are most exact and true, above eight times as many died from disease, occasioned, as it



was thought, by want of fresh provisions, as fell by all the accidents attending the siege."

During this, the thirteenth siege of Gibraltar, no regiment seems to have rendered itself conspicuous above the others by any particular act of service ; but, as will be perceived, the XX. had more men killed, including those who died from their wounds, than any other corps engaged in this memorable defence, at the commencement of which its strength was only 415 of all ranks.

In 1726 a change was made in the musket. The wooden ramrods were replaced by steel rods. This was then deemed a very important change, and was an improvement.<sup>1</sup> There is but little probability that the new rods reached the beleagured garrison in Gibraltar.

The rate of pay, for the non-commissioned officers and men, and stoppages for which they were liable at this period, are not without interest, and are here appended :—

FOOT.

<i>Sergeant.</i>			£	s.	d.
Full pay per week	...	...	0	7	0
Paid weekly	...	...	0	6	0
There remains			0	1	0
<i>Corporal.</i>					
Full pay per week	...	...	0	4	6
Paid weekly	...	...	0	4	0
There remains			0	0	6

<sup>1</sup> "H. O. M. E. B.," May 9th, 1726.

*Private.*

Full pay per week	...	...	0	3	0
Paid weekly	...	...	...	0	3
				0	0
There remains	...	...	0	0	6

From the "remainders" the captain was empowered to deduct for shoes, stockings, gaiters, medicines, shaving, mending of arms, and loss by exchange. No other charges were recognised, except for such things as may be lost or spoiled by the soldier's neglect.<sup>1</sup>

In April, 1728, the XX. embarked from Gibraltar, and proceeded to Ireland, where it arrived in May.

From 1732 to 1740 the regiment had no less than five colonels, by whose names it was known. This must have made it very difficult to follow a regiment, and certainly was not calculated to promote *esprit de corps*. For 14 years it was Egerton's. On his death in 1732 it became the Earl of Effingham's, and when he was transferred to the Horse Grenadier Guards; in June, 1737, it had Colonel Richard St. George for its titular head. He was succeeded by Colonel Alexander Rose, who held the appointment for the short period of 18 months. The fifth officer, whose name was given to it in December, 1740, was Colonel Thomas Bligh.

What would those who object to the territorial titles of the present day say to this designation :—

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<sup>1</sup> "Miscellaneous Orders," June 28th, 1720; and approved on April 27th, 1732.

“Bligh’s, late Ross’s, formerly St. George’s” ? But at this period such was the agglomeration of names by which the XX. was identified.

In 1740 Parliament called for a printed return of the officers of the army, which was continued yearly, and developed into the official “Army List.”<sup>2</sup>

After a continuous service in Ireland of 14 years, Bligh’s regiment embarked at Dublin on April 24th, 1742, for conveyance to the South of England.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Receiver-General’s Account for one year, ending Lady Day, 1742. Record Office, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> This was not the first “Army List.” In 1684, Nathan Brooks prepared and published an “Army List,” but this was a private venture. From 1661, the first year of England’s Standing Army, until 1740, there was no “Army List” except that of Brooks.—“English Army Lists,” Charles Dalton, vol. i., preface.

<sup>3</sup> This is an exact copy from the original abstract of the musters taken of Colonel Bligh’s Regiment of Foot at embarkation, Dublin, April 24th, 1742 :—

COLONEL’S COMPANY.

Ensign Johnson absent.

MAJOR CORNWALLIS’S.

Major absent.

Ensign Dalton absent,

One man absent.

CAPTAIN CATHCART’S.

Captain absent.

One man absent.

CAPTAIN PRICE’S

Captain absent.

One man absent.

CAPTAIN MEYRAC’S.

One man absent.

CAPTAIN HORSMAN’S

Captain absent.

Lieut. Beckwith absent.

CAPTAIN VICKERS’

One man absent

## CAPTAIN WARD'S.

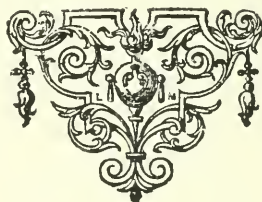
One man absent.

## CAPTAIN ROUSSELIER'S.

Ensign Barrington absent

Two men absent.

This curious document is in the Record Office, Dublin, and bears no signature. It does not state who did embark, but rather those who did not, the latter probably being in the greater number, so far as the officers were concerned.



## CHAPTER VIII.

1742—1745.

Long period of Peace—Death of Charles VI. of Germany—Frederick of Prussia—Battle of Mollwitz—England assists Maria Theresa—George II. surprised in Hanover—A Year's Neutrality—Dissatisfaction in England—XX. embark for Ostend—Earl Stair—Improved discipline of the Army—Winter Hardships—Absence of Officers—Campaign of 1743—Army cut off from its Base—Battle of Dettingen—First Honour on the Colours—Arms—Winter Quarters—Abortive Campaign of 1744—Campaign of 1745—Insubordinate state of Dutch Troops—Army concentrated at Brussels—Clever generalship of Marshal Saxe—Battle of Fontenoy—Disgraceful conduct of the Dutch—Note on Accounts of Fontenoy—Retreat to Lessines—Treatment of our wounded by French—Note on the Force sent to Ghent—Review by Duke of Cumberland.

THE long spell of peace, broken only by the insignificant dispute with Spain, that succeeded the Treaty of Utrecht, was brought to a close by the death, in October, 1740, of the Emperor Charles the Sixth of Germany.

He had secured the succession to his throne and dominions for his daughter, the Empress Maria Theresa, by a settlement called the "Pragmatic Sanction." But on his death this guarantee was cast to the winds. The two claimants were Frederick of Prussia and the Elector of Bavaria. Frederick offered to withdraw his claims, provided Silesia was ceded to Prussia. This the Empress refused. Frederick, with the promptness of a

single mind and resolute will, invaded Silesia, and defeated the Austrians at Mollwitz on April 12th, 1741, and a second time at Chotusitz. The Empress now made peace (Treaty of Breslau) with Frederick, at the cost of Silesia. This left her armies free to deal with France, who was supporting the pretensions of the Elector. The sympathy of England was entirely with Maria Theresa. Parliament voted her a subsidy of £300,000, promised to support her right to the succession, and to render a practical help with a force of 12,000 men.<sup>1</sup>

King George the Second hurried off to Hanover to assemble troops for the support of Maria Theresa, when France, whose hostility to England was well known, sent an army against Hanover. Surprised in a state of unpreparedness, the King could only stipulate for a year's neutrality, with the promise of not supporting Maria Theresa. In England this aroused such a storm that Walpole, the Prime Minister, was driven from office. The Parliament voted a subsidy of half a million, and the army was sent to Flanders. The XX. embarked in May, 1742, and sailed to Ostend, marched to Ghent, thence to Dieghem, to the plains near Brussels, where a force of 16,000 British was assembled. The idleness of camp life in a disagreeable station sadly impaired the discipline of the troops, which was only restored by the sharp, repressive measures of the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Stair failed to

<sup>1</sup> In January, 1741, four regiments of Marines were raised

procure the support of the King in his negotiations for a plan of campaign, and by his instructions that general was reduced to helplessness. In consequence, the British did not make any forward movement until February, 1743. The hardships of this winter march were great, but the discipline of the army was admirable,<sup>1</sup> and this, notwithstanding that the different regiments were seriously depleted of officers, not by sickness or any other legitimate cause, but by absence with leave. They had gone to England, some to attend to their Parliamentary duties, others in the interests of their professional careers, "as their preferment depended upon their friends in Court, and not upon their exertions with their regiments." For these reasons Lord Stair thought it hard to refuse them.<sup>2</sup>

In May the British reached the banks of the Rhine, crossing the river at Newied; thence by Cassel they proceeded along the north bank of the Main to Höchst, where they arrived in the middle of June, and effected a junction with the Hanoverians and Austrians. From Höchst they continued their course along the north bank of the Main, passing through Frankfort, to Hanau and Aschaffenburg. They were now facing south. A bridge of boats was kept ready at Frankfort for the passage of the river. After some difficulty with the Austrian General, the allies began the passage

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<sup>1</sup> Despatches, Earl of Stair to Carteret, February 16th, 1743.

<sup>2</sup> Despatches, Earl of Stair to Carteret, February 20th, 1743.

of the Main on June 3rd. They had just done so when Lord Stair heard that the French army was advancing along the high road from Darmstadt to Frankfort to attack him.<sup>1</sup> At the outlet from a forest through which the French must pass, Lord Stair took up a position to await them, but the French Marshal, Noailles, withdrew without attacking. The army re-crossed the Main under the instructions of King George II., but contrary to the judgment of Stair, and, in doing so, was cut off from its supplies. On June 19th the King joined the army, and took over the command.

The British and Hanoverians were encamped about Aschaffenburg, on the north bank of the Main. A battery was erected on the bridge of Aschaffenburg, but Noailles threw up a redoubt on his side. He next seized a post further up the river, to intercept all supplies from Franconia, and at Aschaffenburg he threw two bridges over it, by which his troops could cross and cut off the allies from their stores at Hanau. As Lord Stair had foreseen, the army was without food, and the King was compelled to order a retreat, which commenced on the night of June 26th. The French Marshal was prepared for this inevitable movement. He had five batteries placed on his side of the river, and the allies could not avoid the fire from their guns, for they were squeezed in between the Main and the Spessart Hills.

At one o'clock on the morning of Thursday,

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 91.



June 27th. Noailles heard that the allies were on the move. Twenty-eight thousand men were at once sent across the Main, under General Grammont. They were ordered to take up a position in front of the village of Dettingen, at a point where a brook runs down through the plain from the Spessart Hills. This stream turned the ground into a marshy bogland. The only means of crossing was by the bridge of the high road to Hanau. Grammont was ordered to wait here until the allies should cross the bridge and become entangled in the bogs. Noailles crossed to his own side of the Main to direct the operations against the allies' flank and rear. At four o'clock the allies were all on the march. East and west natural obstacles shut them in. On the north, Grammont stood before them; on the south, the French divisions were attacking Assachaffenburg. As Noailles said, "he had caught them in a mouse-trap."<sup>1</sup> At seven o'clock the army filed through Kleinostheim. It was now discovered that the French stood between the allies and Dettingen. A great deal of confusion and loss of time arose from the baggage being massed between the first and second divisions, and it was some time before it was placed in the friendly shelter of a wood. Then there was further delay (estimated in all to have been six hours) in arranging the order of battle. Regiments marched and countermarched, the French guns playing on them all the while. When the baggage was clear

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<sup>1</sup> "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.

of the line of march, the English batteries were able to get into position, and soon succeeded in reducing the fire of the enemy's guns.

About twelve noon, Grammont, tired of the long delay, left his position by the brook, and took up another. Lord Stair had the army drawn up in two lines. On the left of the first line, and within a furlong of the river, stood the 33rd Regiment, and, on its right, the 21st, 23rd, 12th, 11th, 8th, and 13th, in the order given. On the British right the Austrian brigade was placed, and then the cavalry. In the second line, from left to right, was the XX. (in rear of the 33rd), then the 32nd, 37th, 31st, and the Buffs and cavalry.<sup>1</sup> The French were in two lines, and a third in reserve. The infantry were in the centre, cavalry on the flanks. Brigadier Clayton filled up the space between the left of the 33rd and the river with the 3rd Dragoons. King George II. rode down the line brandishing his sword, and calling loudly to the British infantry: "Now, boys—now for the honour of England; advance boldly, and the French will soon run." The King then took up his position with the British infantry of the right wing. The whole of the first line then advanced. Fortunately, the French were in disorder. The English advanced slowly through the quagmire, in which they were sometimes knee-deep. The French guns never ceased firing, the left of the line suffering the most. The line halted to re-

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 96.

form and to load. Part of the French infantry on the right advanced and fired. The fire of our men by platoons was most deadly ; there was no cessation in the stream of lead. The French had never experienced anything like it. Lord Stair gave the signal, and the whole line went forward as one, with a loud, angry, vehement shout. The French infantry fell back, taking refuge behind their cavalry, whereupon the Household Cavalry of France now attacked the British left. The 3rd Dragoons met this with a counter attack, and charged right through the French Horse. The 33rd Regiment faced the French Horse, never flinching, and brought men and horses to the ground by their fire, the 21st and 23rd Fusiliers doing the same.<sup>1</sup>

A second attack on the 21st and 23rd Fusiliers met with greater success, and their ranks were pierced, but they quickly recovered, faced inwards, and, drawing a cordon round the French, shot them down.

The XX. was in the second and supporting line in all this fighting. The desperate bravery of the French cavalry could not retrieve the honour of their infantry, who, when they saw how badly their horsemen fared, bolted in a body, rushed for the fords and bridges of the Main in the wild confusion of a deathly panic, throwing away their arms with the cry : "Sauve qui peut."<sup>2</sup> Many were drowned.

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> "Age of Louis XII.," Voltaire.

Had the King permitted Lord Stair to pursue the French, the victory would have been complete, but from over-caution, or the desire to relieve the sufferings of his starving army, he pushed on to Hanau in a drenching rain, leaving his wounded to the care of the French Marshal.

The French lost 5,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The allies lost between 2,000 and 3,000. The regiments that suffered most were those on the left of the first line, who bore the brunt of the attack, and were exposed to the flanking fire from the French batteries. The loss of the XX. at Dettingen was one man killed and one wounded.

Dettingen is the first honour borne on the colours of the regiment, but it was not until the year 1883 that it was placed thereon by the gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.<sup>1</sup>

At Dettingen every soldier was armed with a sword in addition to his bayonet and musket ; and every officer and sergeant a pike, except in the Fusiliers, where the officers carried a light fusil.

The XX. remained for some time in Hanau, and then went into winter quarters in the middle of November.

The allied army, of whom about 22,000 were British, assembled at Ascq and Affligan early in

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<sup>1</sup> Dettingen was the last battle in which a King of England personally commanded the army. At the close of the day the King revived the creation of the Knights Banneret on the field. The Earl of Stair was the first, and Dragoon Thomas Browne the last, of the new knights.—“History of the Army,” vol. ii., p. 101.

May, the English being encamped near Oudenarde on June 25th. Apathy and incapacity were the features of the campaign of 1744. Field-Marshal Wade did not arrive from England until the French had 80,000 men concentrated, while the confederate forces were still scattered in winter quarters, and no reinforcements had arrived to make good the losses of the previous year. The summer was spent in disputing and higgling as to the plan of campaign, which was never formed, and the British returned to winter quarters at Ghent and Bruges about September 17th. Thus ended the abortive and futile campaign of 1744.

The campaign of 1745 opened inauspiciously for the confederates, for the Dutch were not to be depended upon. General Ligonier complained that they were insubordinate and disorderly, setting a bad example to the whole army,<sup>1</sup> and to this evil influence the Austrians were the most susceptible. The Duke of Cumberland, who had not yet completed his 25th year, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, and to the supreme command of the allied forces in Flanders.<sup>2</sup> The army was concentrated at Brussels on May 2nd, and on the 4th started on the march southwards.

Marshal Saxe very skilfully screened the movements of the French Army. He made a feint on Mons, while his real objective was Tournay, which he invested on April 30th, and had been there a

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<sup>1</sup> "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, March 12th, 1745.

week before the Duke of Cumberland was aware of his intentions. The allies came slowly by Cambron, Maulbay, and Leuse, and on May 9th were at Breffosil, within sight of the French at Fontenoy, subsequently forming their camp at Vezon and Maubray, two miles from the future battle-ground. The Duke made a reconnaissance of the enemy's position on May 10th.

Its right rested on the village of Antoin and on the Scheldt. Then it ran eastwards along the crest of the height, for two miles, to the village of Fontenoy, facing due south. East of Fontenoy it turned at right angles to the woods of Barré and the village of Ramecroix.

Antoin was entrenched and held by two brigades; on the bank of the Scheldt it was defended by a battery. The line between Antoin and Fontenoy was defended by three redoubts, three brigades of infantry, and eight squadrons of cavalry. Nothing was needed to strengthen the defences at Fontenoy. From this village to the wood of Barré there were two lines of entrenchments, manned by twenty battalions of infantry. At the point of the wood was the Redoubt d'Eu whose guns commanded the open space between the woods and the village. Saxe had no less than a hundred pieces of cannon in position.<sup>1</sup> In the rear of the woods was posted a reserve, consisting of nine battalions of infantry and a strong division of cavalry.

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<sup>1</sup> "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.



The *elite* of Marshal Saxe's army occupied this space on the left of his position, and they were to defend this frontage, of from 900 to 1,000 yards, against the English.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch were to assail Fontenoy, the Austrians to carry the left, near Antoin.

In his fortified lines Marshal Saxe had 56,000 men, while the allies had but 50,000. At two o'clock a.m. on May 11th the allies left their camps—in infantry in marching order, each man carrying twenty-four rounds of ammunition, hence the progress was slow through the villages and country lanes. The cavalry led. They spread out on the plain, and covered the advance of the infantry, who were, after they had got clear of the narrow byeways, soon formed in two lines. The cavalry were now in rear of the infantry. All was ready for the forward movement, awaiting only the Dutch and Austrian commanders to lead their respective corps against the positions assigned to them.

At eight a.m. a general attack began, the guns having been firing since five. Both Dutch and Austrians were cowed by the fire in their front, and from the battery on the other side of the Scheldt. They fell back to the protection of some earthworks, and from this shelter they could not be induced to move.<sup>2</sup>

The Dutch cavalry behaved even more disgracefully than their infantry. They fled from the

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<sup>1</sup> Voltaire ; "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

field, passing through some British squadrons, and, in absolute terror, never drew rein until they reached Hal. Brigadier-General Ingoldsby was ordered to storm the Redoubt d'Eu. The order was several times repeated, but never obeyed.<sup>1</sup> The failure to carry this important position has been ascribed, with questionable justice, as the cause of the defeat at Fontenoy.

The Duke could no longer delay the attack on the entrenchments. The infantry was formed in two lines, from right to left, the regiments being in this order :—First Guards, Coldstream Guards, 3rd Guards, 1st, 21st, 31st, 8th, 25th, 33rd, and 19th. In the second line the Buffs were on the right, then followed the 23rd, 32nd, 11th, 28th, 34th, and XX., as at Dettingen, on the left. Each battalion had two field guns.<sup>2</sup> The drums beat, the men shouldered arms, and all moved off for the entrenchments, distant about half a mile, with a slow and measured step.

The enemy's guns swept through and through the columns. From Fontenoy on the left, and the Redoubt d'Eu on the right, they kept up a merciless fire, but still the columns moved slowly on, never altering their pace, closing in as the gaps were made. The Hanoverians, who had taken a place on the left of the XX., finding they were cramped for room, fell behind and formed a third line.

Slowly, silently, without firing a shot, they

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<sup>1</sup> "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 115.



marched up the glacis. When they were, it is computed, within 50 yards, the first crash of their fire was heard, which wrought fearful havoc in the ranks of the enemy, and some hundreds fell in one regiment. The British soldiers were well in hand, the officers, as usual, doing their duty, without fear of death.<sup>1</sup> They forced their way into the French camp. The Duke sent two battalions to help the Dutch in the attack they never intended to make. Saxe sent his cavalry to turn them back, which was successfully accomplished, and he now ordered up the division of cavalry that was standing behind the wood of Barré. They charged the British, only to be rent and torn asunder by the well-delivered musketry fire. Then came the second line, who suffered as did the first, and next the third attack by the flower of the French cavalry—the Household Regiment, *Maison du Roi*—who came down upon the columns clad in scarlet, only to meet destruction. All this gave time for the completion of Marshal Saxe's plans—the re-forming of his infantry in the entrenchments, and the bringing up of the six battalions of the Irish Brigade. Not all Irish, by any means, for there were many English and Scots among them—men with the halter round their necks, and demons in a fight.<sup>2</sup>

They came fresh into the field, but were crushed and shattered by the superior fire of the English.

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<sup>1</sup> "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 118.

As the Dutch would not attack Fontenoy, and as the cannonade in front and on both flanks became even fiercer, and the French infantry were working round on the flanks, there was no alternative but to retire. Two regiments were sent to secure the woods, and the retreat was made in good order.<sup>1</sup>

As the column was marching from the scene of the fight, the French Household Cavalry made a last furious charge upon it, but found to its cost that the same infernal fire had to be reckoned with. Twenty English battalions lost over 4,000 men. Of this the XX. had its share. The commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Gee,<sup>2</sup> one sergeant, and 27 rank and file, were killed; Captains Meyrac, Maxwell; Lieutenants Bouchiere, Vickers; Ensign Hartley, one sergeant, and 34 rank and file were wounded. It was one of two regiments of the line that had none missing.

No battle in history affords a brighter example of the splendid fighting qualities of British infantry. The different phases of the struggle, and its conclusion, all happened as Marshal Saxe had anticipated, in accordance with his preconceived plans and orders personally issued by him to meet the emergencies of the moment.<sup>3</sup> When he said that the Regiment Maison du Roi, with the infantry, were disheartened by their repeated attacks against the British infantry—"those flaming

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel March 29th, 1742.

<sup>3</sup> "Karl von Weber," Leipzig, 1863; *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1864.

fortresses rather than two columns"<sup>1</sup>—against which they threw themselves only to be shattered and broken, he told them that they must make a last effort—that the preceding charges had failed because they had advanced with too much vivacity, which did not give him time to bring up the reserves. He regarded the Duke's successes in the centre with equanimity. They were disadvantageous, as they were without support. The further they advanced, the more they were exposed to the fire of the French guns on their flanks and in rear. But Marshal Saxe admitted that he had not calculated upon the determined, dogged bravery of the English infantry. That surprised him.<sup>2</sup>

From Fontenoy, Cumberland retreated to Ath, thence to Lessines. The wounded were left on the field to the care of the French, who, contrary to

<sup>1</sup> Campagnes des Pays Bas."

<sup>2</sup> "Karl von Weber," Leipzig, 1863; *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1864.

NOTE.—An entirely trustworthy account of Fontenoy has yet to be written. Its brilliant narrator, Voltaire (though now proved to have been wildly misled by French officers), was not only copied throughout his own century, but, even in this later age, has been echoed by historians no less able than Lord Stanhope and Thomas Carlyle. The late Alexander William Kinglake at one time thought of writing a corrective history for the first edition of this work, but, unfortunately, the first early symptoms of a malignant disease had become painfully manifest. This, together with the difficulties of procuring the materials from Leipzig, prevented the subject being dealt with by his inimitable hand. From Marshal Saxe's despatch to the Minister of War, dated Tournay, May 13th, 1745, it is clear he had at no time during the battle any misgiving as to the results, and that his reasons for persuading the King to retire were altogether at variance with the cause popularly assigned.

their previous custom, treated them with shocking barbarity.<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of the summer and autumn was passed in camp. Some "orders of the day" are curious. The infantry were ordered to be prepared for a review by the Duke of Cumberland in this way :—

"Camp Villeborde, September 1st, 1745.

"It is General Ligonier's orders that the Foot put themselves in the best order possible to be seen by His Royal Highness on Thursday; that their clothes and lace are mended, their Hats new cock'd, and everything in repair."

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 121.

NOTE.—In the "Military Life of Field-Marshal George, First Marquis Townshend," at p. 75, there is this statement :—"The Welsh Fusiliers, Royal Scots, Bligh's (XX.), and Handasyde's (16th), under General Moltke, were sent to reinforce the garrison of Ghent. Through the misconduct of General Moltke, only the remnant of the Royal Scots found their way into Ghent. Stunned by the loss of this brigade, and unhinged by the surprise and capture of Ghent, the allied army fled from the Dexder to the canal of Brussels, and then to the camp at Anderlecht." As this biography is based entirely on the diary of the Field-Marshal, who was serving on the Staff at Fontenoy, and was subsequently in the XX., the statement must be correct, though it has never appeared in any other work.



## CHAPTER IX.

1745—1747.

Prince Charles Stuart—Lands in Scotland—16,000 join his standard—Consternation in England—Army popular—XX. withdrawn from Flanders—Arrival in the Thames—March to Lancashire—Thence to Carlisle—Battle of Falkirk—Leith to Aberdeen—March from Aberdeen—Enter Nairn—Attempt to surprise the Royal Army—Battle of Culloden—Defeat of the clans—Strength of regiment—Captain Hon. George Townshend—Results of the battle—Casualties—Lord George Sackville—Perth—Changes in clothing—Interior economy—Removal to Flanders, 1748—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—XX. again sent to Scotland—Stirling—Wigs abolished.

SINCE 1743 Prince Charles Stuart had been intriguing in France for the means of making a raid in Scotland, and the defeat of the British at Fontenoy had strengthened his resolution. On July 25th he landed between Moidart and Arisaig, with a retinue of seven persons.

The regiments in Scotland were not properly armed. Some weeks previously Sir John Cope had taken a few precautionary measures, but he had not the means of successfully resisting a rebellion of the nature with which he now found himself face to face. Prince Charles raised his standard at Glenfinnan on August 19th, and had no less than 16,000 men who espoused his cause. On December 4th he was at Derby. Consternation reigned supreme, and the army had a brief popularity. The peace-loving Quakers of London, who could not

fight, found that they might do something for the comfort of those who did. They combined, and presented each soldier with a flannel waistcoat for the winter campaign. The city provided one blanket and two palliasses to each tent (there is no record of the number of occupants), 30 watch coats to each battalion, and a pair of worsted gloves to every man.<sup>1</sup> The XX. was one of the regiments withdrawn from Flanders for service in Scotland. With the other regiments it marched from Ostend to Mons, thence to Vilvorder, *en route* for Wilhelmstadt, where it embarked about November 1st, and arrived in the Thames on Friday, the 5th.

Their uniform was much the worse of wear, but the men were in excellent condition after their three years' campaigning. The XX. at once marched to the borders of Lancashire in the division commanded by General Sir John Ligonier.

After the retreat of Prince Charles from Derby, the XX. advanced northwards. It was with the Duke of Cumberland's forces at Penrith on December 20th, and on the following day Carlisle was invested. The batteries opened fire on the 28th, and on the 30th Carlisle unconditionally surrendered. Brigadier Bligh, the Colonel of the XX., took possession of the town with 1,100 infantry. On January 17th, 1746, the Royal Army, under General Hawley, sustained a serious defeat

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<sup>1</sup> "Secretary's Common Letter Book," September 28th; "H. O. M. E. Book," November 8th.

at Falkirk. The XX. was ordered to proceed to North Britain. It arrived in Edinburgh in February, and embarked from Leith for passage to Aberdeen, where it arrived on March 25th, and the army, led by the Duke of Cumberland, marched from Aberdeen on Tuesday, April 8th.

The Spey was forded without opposition, and on the 14th they entered Nairn. The 15th, being the Duke's birthday, was observed as a holiday,<sup>1</sup> which diversion, in the presence of an enemy, might have cost them dear. The rebels made a night march with the intention of falling upon the Royal camp by surprise, but their march was ill-timed. After they had traversed seven or eight miles they found that they could not reach Nairn before dawn, and consequently returned to Culloden Moor.<sup>2</sup>

At the first sign of daylight on the 16th the Royal army, in a storm of wind and rain, advanced in the direction of the enemy's position at Culloden, about five miles distant from Inverness. They were in two lines, with a reserve—5,000 men in all.

The Duke formed his army, numbering 9,000, in three lines, with cavalry on both flanks. In the intervals between every two regiments stationed in the first line two field-pieces were placed, and in the intervals in the second line three guns were in position. In rear of the two lines there was a reserve

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe," p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Wolfe," pp. 82-85.



force of both horse and foot. The right of the Duke's army rested on Culloden, and the left on a park wall.

Before the battle the Duke of Cumberland rode down the line, and made a stirring address to each regiment. He was received with enthusiastic cheers, and shouts of "Flanders!"

The cannon on both sides opened fire, and during this the front lines of both armies were increased and extended by bringing up the reserves. The fire from the Royal cannon irritated the Highlanders so much that they demanded to be led to the attack. The order was given, and about one o'clock the battle began by the clansmen attacking the front line with great fury and reckless bravery. After firing their pistols they threw them away, and rushed on the front line with their claymores. They were met with a volley of musketry that decimated their ranks, but did not prevent the Camerons rushing on Barrel's (4th) and Monro's (27th) regiments, who were on the left of the first line.<sup>1</sup> These regiments received them with the bayonet, but the Highlanders worked round their flanks, and came in contact with the second line, who were in three ranks—the front rank kneeling, the second bending forward, the third standing upright. General Hulse wheeled up Bligh's (XX.) and Sempill's battalions, who at once poured in a rapid, well-directed, enfilading

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe," pp. 82-84.



fire, which at once stopped the Highland advance, and turned it into a rout.<sup>1</sup>

Never was so complete a victory gained in such a short time, and with such important and far-reaching results. It decided the fate of the House of Stuart, and for all time freed Scotland from rebellion.<sup>2</sup>

The Duke's army suffered a loss of 20 officers and 300 men killed and wounded. Although the XX. took such an important part in the battle, it had only four men killed; Lieutenant Trapaud and 17 men wounded. Brigadier-General Thomas Bligh was transferred to the 12th Dragoons, the Colonelcy of the regiment being conferred upon Lieutenant-Colonel Lord George Sackville on April 9th, 1746. So that actually, at Culloden, it was Sackville's and not Bligh's regiment, though it did not know of the change of name that had been made just one week previous to the battle. By adhering, in this work, to the designation "XX.," confusion and mystification may be spared to the reader.

After Culloden the regiment was for some time stationed at Perth, and it was employed searching

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Field-Marshal George, First Marquis Townshend." This officer was gazetted to the XX. as Captain on May 29th, 1745. On the insurrection breaking out in Scotland, he hurried from Flanders, and fought with the XX. at Culloden. He was afterwards one of the Brigadiers who served under Wolfe at Quebec.

At Culloden the strength of the regiment was 20 officers and 447 men.

<sup>2</sup> "History of England," and "Forty-Five," by Lord Mahon; "Life of Wolfe."

for arms, and executing those measures of repression of which the phrase, "the severity of the rebellion statutes" conveys an inadequate impression of what was enacted.

The XX. left Scotland for the Netherlands early in 1748. The only event of this year was the siege of Maestricht, in which the British forces did not take part.

The war was terminated by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed on October 18th, and the French engaged not to give any further support to the exiled Stuarts, whose cause had been such fruitful source of discord and bloodshed.

In December the XX. left Nesselroy, and, on arrival in Great Britain, was again sent to Scotland, being quartered in Stirling.

The trivial subject of clothing comes under review in this year.

Some of the regulations as to dress are now curious reading, but, as they give an idea of the manners and customs of the period, are worthy to be recorded. For instance, on February 3rd the edict went forth that "no soldier will be permitted to wear a wig after March 25th next." This was followed by an order on June 7th, that officers for the future were always to mount guard with queue wigs, or their own hair done in the same manner. Then, on August 21st, a third order directed that those who had no hair of their own, either from age or infirmity, were to provide themselves with wigs made to turn up like the hair.

The use, by the sergeants, of ruffles was discontinued. At this time the infantry received new clothing annually, but the waistcoats were made out of the coats of the previous year. The clothing fund was the accumulated stoppages of a certain sum from the pay of the non-commissioned officers and men, which was called "off-reckonings," by which the colonels realised about £200 a year.

Another perquisite of the colonels at this time, and for years after, was the pay of vacant commissions. Thus regiments were sometimes kept in a state of inefficiency to enrich the colonels, and some scandalous transactions were the result of this system.



## CHAPTER X.

1748—1758.

Wolfe joins the XX.—Expenses of officers—Glasgow—Fire—Wolfe on the difficulties of a C.O.—Perth—Lord Bury—Promotion of Wolfe to Lieutenant-Colonel—Dundee—Banff—Inverness—Out stations—Unpleasant Duties—Glasgow—Complimented by George II.—Argyllshire—Road-making—Changes in dress—XX. Facings to be pale yellow—Numbers introduced, 1753—Glasgow—Return to England—Reading—Inspection by Duke of Cumberland—Dover—Draft to Dunbar's Regiment—Canterbury—Invasion by the French—Wolfe's Orders—Colonel Kingsley—Second Battalion—67th Regiment—Expedition to Rochefort—Wolfe Leaves the XX.—Letters to Captain Parr.

ON January 5th, 1749, Brevet-Major James Wolfe was gazetted Major of the XX., and joined the regiment at Stirling early in February. The corps moved to Glasgow in the following month. On April 25th a detachment<sup>1</sup> (two captains, six sub-alterns, and 300 men) of the regiment was ordered to work on the road from the Pass of Leny to the head of Loch Earn. While the regiment was stationed in Glasgow a tremendous fire devastated the Gorbals, on the south side of the Clyde, by which 150 families were rendered homeless. The following notice appeared in the local paper :—  
“ Major Wolfe and the officers of Lord George Sackville's regiment were present all the time, and were of singular service, by placing guards upon the bridge and all the avenues to keep off the crowd,

<sup>1</sup> All paviors, carpenters, smiths, miners, and bricklayers to be sent. Extra pay to military road makers was :—Lieutenants, 2s. 6d.; sergeants, 1s.; corporals, 8d.; privates, 6d. a day.



A profile sketch of Wolfe was drawn by his aide-de-camp, Captain Smith, a few days before the capture of Quebec, and is said to be an accurate portrait.

The picture by Schaak, presented in 1859 by the King of the Belgians to the National Portrait Gallery, has been selected by Colonel Hammersley for reproduction in this edition. It is probably the truest likeness extant, being painted soon after death, while his features and colouring were still fresh in the memory of his friends, and it is very probable that Captain Smith's sketch was made use of by Schaak.



MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

The above reproduction from the picture by Schaak in the National Portrait Gallery, was presented for this edition by Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Hammersley, commanding the 4th Battalion.





and to prevent their stealing the effects belonging to the poor sufferers. Many of the soldiers exerted themselves in quenching the flames and saving people's lives."<sup>1</sup> The officers of the regiment subscribed liberally towards a fund for the relief of the sufferers, Lord George Sackville heading the list with £50.

Wolfe gives us an idea of the cost of living when he was serving in the XX. As Major, his pay was £15 a month. His ordinary weekly expenses for horses, servants, washing, lodging, and diet was not less than £3 10s. a week. He reckoned that he had 1s. 1d. a day for what is termed pocket-money—not a munificent sum for a field officer to spend upon himself, and to make liberal subscriptions to local charities. He justly adds, in another letter, "that, without extravagance, he could easily find use for more."<sup>2</sup>

The XX. found Glasgow at this time a tolerable station; "the ladies very civil, and in great numbers." The Paymaster of the regiment Captain Milbourne, died in this month (April). Wolfe describes him as "an excellent officer, of capable abilities—one who, by his fortitude and good understanding, preserved four companies of the regiment, lived to see them safe, and then left them for ever."<sup>3</sup>

On August 14th the command of the regiment devolved upon Wolfe. The difficulties of this

<sup>1</sup> *Glasgow Courant*.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Wolfe," pp. 121-127.

<sup>3</sup> "Life of Wolfe," p. 129. How he did this is not recorded.

position were greater then than now. He writes:—"To-morrow Lord George Sackville goes away. Fancy you see me, that must do justice to good and bad ; reward and punish with an equal, unbiassed hand ; one that is to reconcile the severity of discipline with the dictates of humanity ; one that must study the tempers and dispositions of many men, in order to make their situation easy and agreeable to them, and should endeavour to oblige all without partiality—a mark set up to observe and judge of ; and, last of all, suppose me employed in discouraging vice and recommending the reverse at the turbulent age of 23, when it is possible I may have as great a propensity that way as any of the men that I converse with." <sup>1</sup>

On October 16th the regiment, under the command of Major Wolfe, left Glasgow for Perth. The march of 61 miles was probably accomplished in four days. George, Viscount Bury, became Colonel of the regiment on November 1st, 1749, in place of Lord George Sackville.

With the new Colonel, Major Wolfe had "a very exact correspondence." We are told "that he was extremely bent upon procuring all the knowledge of regimental affairs that the distance between them would allow of."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Life of Wolfe," p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Of this officer Wolfe writes at a later date ;— "Lord Bury professes fairly, and means nothing ; in that he resembles his father and a million of other showy men that are seen in palaces and in the Courts of Kings. He desires never to see his regiment, and wishes that no officer would ever leave it ! This is selfish and unjust."—"Life of Wolfe," p. 185.

On March 20th, 1750, the long-expected Lieut.-Colonelcy was conferred on Major Wolfe, as it was decided that Lieut.-Colonel Hon. E. Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, was not to return to the regiment.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of June, or early in July, Lord Bury joined, or, it would be more exact to say, visited the regiment for the first time. In this respect he differed from his predecessor, Lord George Sackville, who remained with the regiment that bore his name.

On October 1st the last detachment of the regiment arrived at Dundee, where it was assembled for winter quarters, and the completion of the men with annual clothing, etc.

By a Warrant, dated July 1st, 1751, the colour

<sup>1</sup> A very popular officer, Wolfe, writing to a friend in America, says :—"Tell Cornwallis that I thank him for making me a Lieutenant-Colonel ; he promised to write to some of us, but has not ; they are not the less ardent for his prosperity, and the whole corps unites in one common wish for his welfare and success." The Honourable Edward Cornwallis was the sixth son of Charles Lord Cornwallis. He was the eldest of twin children born on February 22nd, 1713 ; the other twin being Frederick Charles, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of George III. Edward Cornwallis entered the XX. at an early age, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served with the corps through the campaigns in Flanders and Scotland in 1744-1745. On the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Gee at the Battle of Fontenoy, Major Cornwallis succeeded to the command of the corps. In 1743 he was nominated member of Parliament for Eye, and in 1745 he obtained a position at Court as Groom of His Majesty's Bedchamber. He commanded the XX. at Stirling, and, on being appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, was succeeded by Major Wolfe. In May, 1749, Lieutenant-Colonel Cornwallis sailed for Nova Scotia in charge of 1,149 settlers, and he was the first Governor and founder of the province of Nova Scotia. In 1752 he resigned the Governorship, but continued to serve in the army, and was promoted Major-General in February, 1757. and Governor of Gibraltar in 1759. General Cornwallis died in the year 1776, aged 63.—"Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society" for the years 1879-80.

of the facings appointed to be worn by the regiment was pale yellow.

Early in 1751 the XX., under Wolfe, marched from Dundee to Banff, thence to Inverness, at the end of September of the same year.

After, for those times, an unusually long stay at Inverness of nearly nine months, the regiment marched to Fort Augustus on May 18th, 1752. The good conduct of the men, and the conciliatory methods of their commander, were clearly evinced by a proposal from the inhabitants—who were amongst the most disaffected in the country—that there should be a celebration of the Duke of Cumberland's birthday.<sup>1</sup> The headquarters at Fort Augustus was composed of two field officers, six other officers, and four score recruits. The remainder were scattered on outposts in the surrounding districts.

The duties of officers in command of outposts were as unpleasant as the execution of them was vexatious, owing to the severity of the Rebellion Statutes. The active interference of the people to prevent arrests, and the scarcity of provisions, increased the prevailing lawlessness.

Captain Walter Johnson, who had marched from Inverness on the 18th, reached Invercomrie, which commanded the Pass of Glencoe, on May 21st. On June 7th he reports:—"In this country we have great scarcity of provisions. A great many cattle have died, and what are alive are scarcely

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe, pp 156, 207, 210.

able to crawl, so the men get very little to buy, unless milk and eggs." On October 30th, Captain Alexander Trapaud,<sup>1</sup> who was stationed at Laggan Achadrom, an important position between Lochs Lochy and Oich, reported "that the Sergeant stationed at Knockfin apprehended, on Sunday, the 15th instant, one John Faquharson, a Popish priest, dressed in all his sacerdotal vestments, as he was preaching to above three hundred persons in a great barn at the bridge of Cannich, in Strathglass. He was brought to me, and I sent him with a party and the witnesses, together with his vestments and all the altar furniture, to the Sheriff of Inverness-shire, who committed him to gaol.<sup>2</sup> The next day he was bailed out. The Sergeant ran a great hazard of his life in taking the above priest, as he was disguised, by a small sword and two soldiers with their bayonets, the people making an attempt to rescue the priest."<sup>3</sup>

Captain John Beckwith, who commanded the detachment at Loch Arkaig, with a sense of humour informed the authorities "that, on the 24th of last month (August), one of my men brought me a man to all appearance in a philabeg; but, on close examination, I found it to be a woman's petticoat (which answers every end of that part of the High-

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<sup>1</sup> Joined the regiment as Ensign on February 23rd, 1735-6. Appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Augustus in June, 1753, where he remained until his death in December, 1796, at the great age of 84. By Wolfe he was familiarly called "Trap."

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Wolfe," pp. 215, 216, 218.

<sup>3</sup> "Life of Wolfe," pp. 216, 217, 218.

land dress). I sent him to the Sheriff-Substitute, who dismissed him."

Early in 1753 the XX. was again quartered in Glasgow.

The arduous duties in the Highlands received the recognition of His Majesty King George II., who sent his thanks, in particular, to Lord Bury's regiment. In May, 1753, the XX. left Glasgow for the Highlands, where they were employed in road-making.

One detachment was so employed upon the side of Loch Lomond, in Argyllshire; and five companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe, were encamped at Inverdouglas, situated on the west side of Loch Lomond, in Dumbartonshire, where they made the road. All the roads in the Highlands were made by different regiments, and were begun about the year 1726, under the direction of General Wade. Up to the year 1768, and probably for many years after, making or repairing roads was the summer occupation of troops quartered in Scotland. When the summer's task was completed, it was the custom to erect a wayside tablet, recording the date and name of the regiment.

One of these tablets, put up by the XX., under Wolfe, in 1753, was pulled down years ago by a farmer at Ardvoirlich, and, with characteristic economy, turned into a hearthstone. Another, on the road near Tynaclach, Arrochar, bore the mark of the XX., but without the date and name of the



commanding officer.<sup>1</sup> Some of these stones were in existence till quite recent times.

A change was made in July of this year which was intended to give the regiments a simpler and unchangeable identity. This was the substitution of the historic numbers for the names of the colonels, by which all regiments had been known, but the adoption of the numbers was of slow growth. In all his voluminous correspondence Wolfe makes no reference to the new idea, and throughout the "Seven Years War" the regiment was called Kingsley's. In 1767 the numbers appeared on the buttons for the first time, and, until after this innovation, it is doubtful if the numerical designation was used to any extent, except in official documents.<sup>2</sup>

By August 24th the various detachments had returned to Glasgow. The commanding officer was busy preparing for the march southwards, which he looked forward to with great joy. The drill and clothing of the men engaged his serious attention. He was somewhat concerned that the men would make but an indifferent appearance when His Royal Highness reviewed them, their clothes being "vastly damaged" by the work on the roads and "long wear." If they were to appear in the pattern recently approved, they would make but a sorry show after a summer employed in road-making.

One of the first army reforms of George the

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe," p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> "Miscellaneous Orders," July 2nd, 1753; "Secretary's Common Letter Book," July 17th, 1753; "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 583

Second was the establishment of a "fixed clothing"—that is, the colour, style of cloth, lace, and buttons were specified in an elaborate table of regulations (which is now known as "Dress Regulations"). In the correspondence of Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe there is no reference to these changes, but it may be inferred that the new patterns about which he was so much concerned were those introduced by a Royal Warrant, dated July 1st, 1751. The facings of the XX. were ordered to be of pale yellow; the coat of scarlet to be turned up with yellow, and ornamented with white lace; scarlet waistcoat and breeches, with white gaiters reaching above the knee, and a cocked hat trimmed with white lace." At this time also the Colonel (Lord Bury) had changed the time in which the various exercises were performed from "very quick to slow."

The first party of the regiment marched from Glasgow on September 8th. The whole appeared to have halted at Carlisle on the 17th; left Carlisle on the 20th; Warrington, in Lancashire, on the 30th; Warwick on October 16th, and Reading on the 22nd of the same month. This march was favoured with what the commanding officer describes as the "finest season that ever was."<sup>1</sup>

The XX. remained at Reading longer than was expected, which gave Wolfe a much-wished-for opportunity of getting the regiment perfect in their drill. Writing from this town on November 4th he

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe," p. 278.

says:—"We are at exercise four or five hours every day. The men of these times have not enough iron in their constitutions for this work. Our ancestors would have done twice as much in colder weather without coughing." And yet these men had marched through Scotland, and spent their summers road-making, and then marched from Glasgow to Dover, where six companies and the headquarters arrived during this month; and the remainder at Maidstone. The following regimental order was published by Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe:—

"Dover, December 23rd, 1753.

"His Royal Highness the Duke, when he reviewed the regiment at Reading, was pleased to express his approbation of the several parts of the discipline of it—such as the manner of carrying the arms, of levelling, of marching, and of wheeling, and, in particular, of the silence and obedience that he observed, and ready compliance with orders, without the confusion sometimes perceived in the execution of things that seem new."

The six companies at Dover were quartered in the Castle. At this time there were very few barracks in England, and the troops were, as a rule, billeted. In Ireland there were barracks, to the great advantage and comfort of both troops and people.<sup>1</sup> But this was not the experience of the XX. with regard to the old Castle, which they were glad to leave upon any terms. The commanding officer did not minimise its horrors, but declared

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<sup>1</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 22.

“that, in the King’s dominions, there was not a more melancholy winter station.” The neglect of the Board of Ordnance added considerably to the dangers of this vile dungeon.<sup>1</sup>

The only incident of any importance that occurred at Dover was a complaint made against the officers for neglecting their social duties, particularly in the matter of not giving or attending balls, etc. In reply, Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe wrote :— “Some of our finest performers are at present disabled, and the rest disheartened from attempting it by the terrible example of the sufferers. There are but two that can be reckoned to be whole and entire—both very tall and thin ; and we can’t undertake to please all these ladies alone. Notwithstanding this, I always encourage our young people to frequent balls and assemblies. It softens their manners, and makes them civil, and I commonly go along with them, to see how they conduct themselves. I am only afraid they shall fall in love and marry. Whenever I perceive the symptoms, or anybody makes the discovery, we fall upon the delinquent without mercy, till he grows out of conceit with his new passion. By this method we have broke through many an amorous alliance, and dissolved many ties of eternal love and affection.” He adds :—“Two or three of the most simple ones have triumphed over my endeavours, but are seated upon the stool of repentance for the rest of their days.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Life of Wolfe,” p. 289

<sup>2</sup> “Life of Wolfe,” p. 285.

In the middle of January the regiment was ordered to prepare for cantonments on the Kentish coast, to prevent suspicious vessels approaching the shore. After some suspense, caused by frequent countermanding of orders, the XX. marched, about the end of January, from Dover to Sittingbourne, and here it remained until the last week of March, when five companies left for Guildford, to be reviewed by Lord Bury, and the remaining companies went to Bristol to assist the civil authorities.

In October the regiment was again together at Exeter, for the first time since it was raised there in 1688.

The XX. had to send a draft of one hundred men to Colonel Dunbar's regiment, for service in the Virginian Expedition.<sup>1</sup> The withdrawal of these men was a serious loss, that would require a whole winter's active recruiting to make good, and in Exeter, at this time, the woollen trade afforded the people good wages, hence the difficulty in procuring recruits.

In February the XX. was under orders to go on board the Fleet for special service.

Colonel Philip Honeywood was promoted Colonel of the XX. from the Guards, *vice* Lord Bury.

From Exeter the regiment moved to Winchester

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<sup>1</sup> General Braddock commanded a force of 2,000 men. When about ten miles from Fort Duquesne, in the Alleghanies, on 9th July, 1755, they were ambushed by the French and Indians. The regulars behaved badly, and, after firing one volley, bolted *en masse*. The militia, under Colonel George Washington, saved the whole force from destruction. Of 60 officers, 55 were killed or wounded, some of them by their own men.—See Carlyle's "Frederick the Great"; also Thackeray.

and Southampton, and by October 4th the whole was assembled at Winchester, to be reviewed by General Mordaunt, and afterwards by the Duke of Cumberland. The Lieutenant-Colonel chafed with impatience at this form of inspection. "Our whole business," he asserts, "seems to be confined to reviews." On another occasion he emphatically states, with all the positiveness of an ardent reformer :—"Our method of training and instructing the troops is extremely defective, and tends to no good end. We are lazy in time of peace, and, of course, want vigilance and activity in war."<sup>1</sup>

The inspections must have passed off satisfactorily, for this order was published soon after :—

"The Lieutenant-Colonel takes this opportunity to thank the officers and soldiers of the companies here (Winchester) for their extremely handsome behaviour under arms ; the knowledge and the diligence of the officers, and the obedience and attention of the soldiers was very conspicuous ; and Sir John Mordaunt, who inspected the regiment, expressed his satisfaction in the strongest terms, and will make a proper report to His Majesty and the Duke of what he saw."

In the autumn of this year England was suffering from a panic of "invasions by the French." Honeywood's (XX.) was hurried from Winchester to Canterbury.

In a letter from this town, dated November 5th,

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe," pp. 325-328.

we read this pungent criticism :—" General Hawley is expected in a few days, to keep us all in order. If there is an invasion, they could not make use of a more unfit person ; for the troops dread his severity, hate the man, and hold his military knowledge in contempt." <sup>1</sup>

The garrison of Canterbury consisted of two infantry regiments and one of dragoons, all so crowded together as to cause fever among the troops.

Amongst regimental officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe had a pre-eminence which was enjoyed at this period by few of his contemporaries. Consequently, noblemen and others of social distinction obtained commissions in the XX., so as to serve under his command. The Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Blandford both commanded companies in the regiment.

At Canterbury the regiment was again inspected, or, as the expression of the day has it, " reviewed," by the Duke of Cumberland.

The commanding officer conveyed to the regiment the pleasure of the Commander-in-Chief in an order from which this excerpt is taken :—

" The Lieutenant-Colonel desires that the captains will acquaint their men that H.R.H. the Duke has expressed his approbation of their appearance and behaviour under arms in very strong terms ; and he has been pleased to say that he has conceived a good opinion of the corps, and does not

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<sup>1</sup> " Life of Wolfe," p. 329.



doubt but they will take the first opportunity to distinguish themselves. As the regiment has been particularly distinguished in the late promotions, and a number of officers of great merit taken out of the corps, it is hoped it will be the constant endeavours of their successors to promote the discipline, and consequently the honour, of the regiment."

It was during the very short stay of the XX. at Canterbury that Wolfe issued his celebrated "Instructions for the XX. Regiment in case the French should land" They were published in several periodicals after his death,<sup>1</sup> and when issued were considered a perfect code of rules for troops in the field.

From Canterbury the regiment marched to Dover, thence to Portsmouth, where, from Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe's correspondence, it must have arrived early in March. From the same source we know it returned to Canterbury, for, in a letter dated May 20th, he announces they had got "the route." Indeed, they must have marched on the following day, for they were at Basingstoke on June 1st, 120 miles from Canterbury, after being on the march eleven days. A regular correspondent, writing almost from day to day, Wolfe never failed to dwell upon some point, good or bad in its effect, which had impressed him. Of this march he writes :—"We have ruined half the public-houses upon the march, because they have quartered us

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<sup>1</sup> *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. xxx., pp. 528-530.





in villages too poor to feed us without destruction to themselves.”<sup>1</sup> The system of billeting troops was one cause of the unpopularity of the army in England.

The first week of June brought this march to an end, and the XX. were quartered in Devizes.

After being Colonel of the regiment for the short period of thirteen months, Colonel Philip Honeywood was transferred to the 9th Dragoons.

An officer now came to the regiment by whose name it was better known than by any other in the long list of officers who held the position of Colonel.

Colonel William Kingsley, of the Foot Guards, was gazetted to the Colonelcy of the XX. on May 22nd, 1756. He joined the corps at Devizes on June 27th.<sup>2</sup> As Kingsley's, the regiment fought at Minden and throughout the Seven Years War. But the soldiers who gained the fame were those whom Wolfe had for years so carefully trained.

Early in August a camp was formed at Shroton, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire, Kingsley's being one of six battalions of infantry present. They were encamped on a pleasant, dry spot, and it was a comfortable and popular camp. The men had plenty of wood, straw, bread, and meat, good care being taken of them. The new Colonel (Kingsley) “looked into, and ordered everything for the best.”

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<sup>1</sup> “Life of Wolfe,” p. 337.

NOTE.—Returns were regularly rendered of all ale-houses, inns coffee-houses, and brandy-shops liable to quarter soldiers.

<sup>2</sup> A month later Wolfe wrote of Colonel Kingsley :—“Our new Colonel is a sensible man, very sociable, and polite.”

The difference between the internal economy of the army then and what we are familiar with now, can best be realised by this letter, addressed to General Wolfe (who was Colonel of a regiment) by his son :—" There is a scheme on foot to provide blankets for our men, and, since the Government will not be at that expense, the officers contribute, according to their abilities. You may afford to send twenty guineas for that purpose; other Colonels have done it, and I have answered for you." <sup>1</sup>

In consequence of war being declared against France (May 18th), it was ordered by a Royal Warrant, dated August 25th of this year, that the army was to be increased by fifteen new battalions of seven hundred and eighty men each. They were to be added as second battalions to infantry regiments, and Kingsley's was one of those selected for this augmentation. This was the first introduction of "second battalions" into the British Army.

On October 20th three companies of the XX. and three of the Buffs, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe, marched to Stroud, to assist the civil authorities in suppressing riots. When this service was completed the whole regiment marched to Cirencester, where it remained for some months. In the spring of 1757 the second battalion was formed, and the work connected with the formation was conducted by Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe. In May he thus refers to the new battalion :—" Our second

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<sup>1</sup> "Life of Wolfe," p. 348.

battalion is in very good condition, healthy and forward in their exercises, and the soberest collection of young Englishmen I ever saw. The Major (Beckwith) has been extremely lucky in recruiting.”<sup>1</sup>

Both battalions were encamped on Budford Heath, near Dorchester, where a large body of troops had been assembled. In July, Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe was ordered to London, to advise the authorities as to the formation of an expedition that had been decided upon for the destruction of Rochefort, on the coast of France. Wolfe was not sanguine of success—indeed, he was doubtful, at the end of July, if any plan had been formulated. His reasons for this gloomy and adverse opinion he states with his usual force and clearness :—“ In whatever we take in hand, I never expect any great matter : the chiefs, the engineers, and our wretched discipline are the great and insurmountable obstructions.” By August 10th, ten regiments of infantry (including both battalions of the XX.), with fifty light horse and a large train of artillery, were assembled at Newport, Isle of Wight.

Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt was in chief command, while Major-Generals Conway and Cornwallis commanded brigades. Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe was Quartermaster-General.

Rochefort, in Aunis, was selected because the fortress had been neglected, besides which there was an arsenal containing naval stores, and shipping in the harbour that could be easily destroyed. It was

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<sup>1</sup> “ Life of Wolfe,” p. 370.

intended that the expedition should fall on Rochefort by surprise. This was the very essence of the scheme. There was a long delay in getting the transports, but at length, on September 6th, they arrived, the troops embarked, and the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the 8th. On the morning of the 20th the ships were off the Isles of Rhé and Oleron. The expedition failed in consequence of the incapacity of the military leaders. Sir John Mordaunt was nervously indecisive, General Conway cynically indifferent, and Cornwallis lamentably weak—indeed, all were inspired with the dread of assuming responsibility. The fleet that was to surprise Rochefort lay for ten days off the coast and did nothing, until Colonel Wolfe, irritated by the inaction of his superiors, obtained permission, on September 23rd, to go ashore and make an examination of the country. He urged that the promontory of Fouros should be attacked, in which the Admiral concurred, and the General called for a Council of War to consider the plan.

The deliberations of this Council occupied the whole of the 25th, from morning till late at night, and decided that the attempt was neither advisable nor practicable. Two days later, after further "mature deliberation," they recommended that the troops should land at midnight on the 28th. After the troops had been three hours in the boats this was countermanded, and a third Council was ordered to meet, which the Admiral declined to attend. Of the operations, or rather want of them, Wolfe



wrote :—" We lost the lucky moment in war, and are not able to recover it. We shall return to England with reproach and dishonour ; though, in my mind, there never was in any troops, sea and land, a better disposition to serve."

The cause of the failure of the expedition, which created great dissatisfaction throughout England, was the subject of an enquiry by a Board of General Officers. They delivered their report on November 21st, and attributed the frustration of the design, in the first instance, to not attacking Fours agreeably to Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe's plan, " which certainly " (says the report) " must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your Majesty's instructions into execution." Sir John Mordaunt was tried by court-martial, but acquitted. Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe was promoted Brevet-Colonel on October 21st, 1757, for his services on this expedition.

Colonel Wolfe's correspondence affords ample testimony of his interest in every detail connected with his regiment. To Captain Parr, who had for two years been his Adjutant, but who was, at this date (December 29th), recruiting at Wigan, he wrote :—

" Your success gives me double satisfaction, for the regiment and yourself, and I know full well that you will omit nothing that may tend to improve or continue it. I thank God our officers, and those who have left us, profess a sense of duty and spirit that needs no quickening, no urging. I explained

the nature of our discipline some days ago to the Prince of Wales, who is extremely desirous of being informed of these sort of things. I told him there was in the corps a necessary degree of obedience, joined with high spirit of service and love of duty, with which he appeared to be greatly pleased, knowing well that from good inclinations, joined with order and discipline, great military performances usually spring. As I profess to introduce as many young gentlemen as I possibly can into the army, and to exclude *canaille* as much as in me lies, I am ready to give all possible assistance to the young man you speak of."

Brevet-Colonel Wolfe was appointed by Mr. Pitt to the command of a brigade in the expeditionary force under Major-General Amherst, about to be despatched for the reduction of Louisbourg, the key to the River St. Lawrence.

On their return to England from the Rochefort expedition, both battalions were again quartered in Exeter. Wolfe left the regiment at this town on January 7th, 1758,<sup>1</sup> and never rejoined the XX. again; but his official connection with the corps did not cease until he was promoted Colonel.

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<sup>1</sup> He left Exeter at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th, and was in London by one p.m. on the 8th, having covered the distance of 170 miles by coach.—"Life of Wolfe," p. 409.

The second battalions of the regiments (fifteen<sup>1</sup>) having been formed into distinct corps, that of the XX. became the 67th.

The following are the names of the officers who were transferred with the 2nd Battalion of the regiment on its being constituted the 67th Regiment, on April 21st, 1758 :—Colonel, James Wolfe ; Lieutenant-Colonel, Robert Robinson ; Captains, Charles Veatch, Edward Goodenough, William Delane, James Dunne, Thomas Osborne, George Sherwin ; Lieutenants, James Nesbitt, William Pugh, William Edwards, Francis Raper, Frecheride Dykes,<sup>2</sup> Marmaduke Green, John Gardener, John Cane, Richard Faulkner, George Smith, William Yorke, Philip Hales. Henry Nesbitt, Thomas Wilkinson, Alexander Rose, John Matson, Despard Crosdale ; Ensigns, William Massey, Thomas Barker, Joseph Collings, Royston Barton ; George Stadden, Robert Griffith, Thomas Lowe ; Surgeon, Joseph Harris ; Adjutant, James England ; Quartermaster, James Kirkman ; Chaplain, George Coleton.

<sup>1</sup> 2nd Battalion.	Constituted.	2nd Battalion.	Constituted.
3rd Foot	the 61st Foot.	24th Foot	the 69th Foot.
4th "	" 62nd "	31st "	" 70th "
8th "	" 63rd "	32nd "	" 71st "
11th "	" 64th "	33rd "	" 72nd "
12th "	" 65th "	34th "	" 73rd "
19th "	" 66th "	36th "	" 74th "
XX. "	" 67th "	37th "	" 75th "
23rd "	" 68th "		

The 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, and 75th were disbanded after the peace of Fontainebleau in 1763.

<sup>2</sup> An original Order Book, in which these names appear, is in the possession of a descendant of Lieutenant F. Dykes, of Dovenby Hall, Yorkshire.

That the 67th Regiment are proud of their parentage will be seen by the following extract from the concluding chapter of the historical records of that distinguished corps :—"The details contained in the foregoing pages show that the reputation acquired by the XX. Regiment in the wars during the reigns of King William III. and of Queen Anne—in the defence of Gibraltar, 1727, and at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy—has been preserved unsullied by the 2nd Battalion of that corps since the year 1758, at which period it was constituted the 67th Regiment."

Wolfe's promotion terminated his official connection with the XX., and his biographer thus describes the feelings of the corps towards their late commander :—

"By none of his numerous friends was he more highly esteemed than by the officers whom he had formerly commanded, and by none of his countrymen was he more respected and beloved than by the men whom he had trained to a state of discipline until then unknown in the British Army."

On Wolfe's promotion to the Colonelcy of the 67th Regiment he was succeeded in the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the XX. by Major Beckwith, Captain Maxwell obtaining the Majority.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Both these officers gained great distinction in the Seven Years' War. Maxwell was described by Wolfe as "a man of uncommon size, and the best-humoured man alive." In the social haunts of Bath he was popular. One of the last letters written by Wolfe before sailing for Louisbourg was to Lord George Sackville, Master-General of the Ordnance. In it there occurs this passage :—"You have taken Beckwith, Maxwell, and the XX., your old Battalion, under your immediate protection, and they cannot be better."

Colonel Wolfe's relationship with his brother officers was of the most cordial character. With them he dropped the stilted style of the times, and was not their "Obliged and obedient servant," but, as in his letters to Captain Parr,<sup>1</sup> he subscribed himself, "Your faithful friend," or "Yours affectionately." It bears date, "Salisbury, December 6th, 1758":—

"Your remembrance and congratulations upon my return to Europe are most acceptable, and I shall always set a high value upon your friendship and good opinion. It gives me the utmost satisfaction to hear of the good behaviour of your regiment, and I don't at all doubt but that they will be still more distinguished when they are more tried.

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Parr remained in the regiment until January, 1776; he had then completed 26 years' service, and for the last six had been in command. He was wounded at Minden, and took part in most of the actions of the Seven Years' War. He was promoted Major, January 31st, 1763, and Lieutenant-Colonel January 23rd, 1770. Lieutenant-Colonel Parr was appointed Governor of the Tower of London on April 14th, 1778, and Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Nova Scotia on October 8th, 1782. This position he held until his death, which occurred on November 21st, 1791. In Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. iii., p. 97. Lieutenant-Colonel Parr's character (official and private) is described in these words:—"During his administration, which was upwards of nine years, the welfare and happiness of His Majesty's subjects in this province was his invariable study and pursuit. From all I can gather of authentic evidence, he seems to have been a candid man of business, disposed to act honestly, and to listen to good advice. His habits are said to have been frugal and parsimonious. He has left us no indications of extraordinary ability, but seems to have been the very man to suit the time in which he acted, being plain, simple, and diligent." Colonel Parr was buried in the aisle of St. Paul's Church, Halifax. The XX. was at that time stationed in Halifax, and formed the firing party. A descendant of Colonel Parr is that distinguished officer, Major-General Hallam Parr, C.B., C.M.G.

“ They are led by the same captains who have assisted in establishing the sound discipline that prevails amongst you ; and there is no reason to suppose other than the natural effects whenever it comes to the proof.<sup>1</sup> My people, I find, are much out of humour with your chief. I hope there is no such temper amongst you. It is my fortune to be cursed with American service, yours to serve in an army commanded by a great and able prince, where I would have been if my choice and inclinations had been consulted. Our old comrade, Howe, is at the head of one of the best trained battalions in all America, and his conduct in the course of the last campaign corresponded entirely with the opinion we had all entertained of him.<sup>2</sup> His Majesty has not a better soldier in those parts—modest, diligent, and valiant. His brother was a great man ; this country has not produced his like in my time ; his death cannot be enough lamented. You must continue to be upon good terms with the Hanoverian Guards ; they deserve your esteem. Your quarters are not, I fear, amongst the best, nor, I fear, amongst the cheapest. The first news I heard at Portsmouth was the death of McDowall. What a loss was there ! I have hardly ever known a better foot officer, or a better man—clear, firm,

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<sup>1</sup> The proof came on August 1st of the following year, at Minden, when Wolfe was lying before Quebec.

<sup>2</sup> The Honourable William Howe, who had been a captain in the XX., was now Lieutenant-Colonel commanding 58th Regiment. His brother, Lord Howe, was killed in America. Lieutenant-Colonel Howe commanded Wolfe's advanced guard up the Heights of Abraham.



resolute, and cool.<sup>1</sup> My health is mightily impaired by the long confinement at sea. I am going directly to the Bath, to refit for another campaign. We shall look, I imagine, at the famous post of Ticonderoga, where Mr. Abercromby, by a little soldiership and a little patience, might, I think, have put an end to the war in America. You will always have my best wishes. I asked immediately: 'Did Kingsley's come into action?' 'How did they behave?' The answer was: 'There is no doubt they would have done well, but there was no enemy to try them.' My compliments to the corps. I hope Grey<sup>2</sup> has his health, and Carleton. Fare ye well."

It may be considered that in the preceding chapters the life of the Commander has been too much merged into the history of the corps; this may to a certain extent be true, but it is a fortunate truth. His invaluable correspondence has handed down to posterity the most complete record of any period in the eighteenth century, and it is a matter of sincere congratulation that for eight years the XX. was commanded by the "Immortal Wolfe," for he brought the corps to the highest possible state of efficiency. Officers were specially selected from it to command other corps: men of high character and members of great families joined it; and commis-

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander McDowall, Captain of the Grenadier Company of the XX. Captain McDowall was Adjutant of the corps when Wolfe joined, and held the appointment until August 20th, 1754.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix.



sions in it were eagerly sought for. And, lastly, Wolfe established and fostered that *esprit de corps* which is the true foundation of all regimental efficiency.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The whole of the letters, and almost all the particulars and details contained in this chapter, have been taken from "The Life of Wolfe," by R. Wright, published in 1864.





THE DEATH OF WOLFE, AT QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1759.

*After the painting by James Barry, R.A.,*

*Presented to the Regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel Lees Knowles, D.L., M.P., commanding 3rd Volunteer Battalion, the Lancashire Fusiliers.*



## CHAPTER XI.

1758.

Expedition to St. Malo—Destruction of enemy's shipping—Return to England—Kingsley's selected for service in Germany (Seven Years' War)—Winter quarters in Munster—Recruiting.

ON Friday, May 26th, 1758, a force of about 13,000 fighting men in all, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, embarked at the Isle of Wight. The XX. formed part of the 2nd Brigade,<sup>1</sup> which was commanded by Major-General Waldegrave. The transports sailed to Spithead, and thence to St. Helens, where they were detained by contrary winds until May 31st. On June 4th St. Malo was sighted, but the fleet proceeded to Cancale Bay. The Grenadiers of the army were landed, and Lord Down, with twenty men of Kingsley's,<sup>2</sup> marched through a narrow pass into the village, where they were met by the Marquis of Landal (Intendant of the coast and Colonel of the Militia), with his servant. Lord Down called to him, and told him if he would surrender he had nothing to fear; but he foolishly refused to do so, and consequently, together with his servant and two horses, was shot dead upon the spot.

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<sup>1</sup> The regiments of the 2nd Brigade were Kingsley's (XX.), Wolfe's (67th), and Loudon's (30th).—*London Gazette*, June 6th-10th, 1758.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xviii., 1758, p. 298.

The party then took possession of the village, The whole force disembarked on June 6th, and encamped at Cancalle. From the camp the enemy's shipping could be seen collected in a large basin behind the town, and Marlborough determined to destroy it. On the night of the 6th the cavalry, each trooper having a foot soldier mounted behind him supplied with hand-grenades, passed under the enemy's cannon, and set fire to two men-of-war, over one hundred ships, and reduced the naval stores to ashes. The cavalry were supported by the 2nd Brigade,<sup>1</sup> a party of two hundred pioneers preceding the whole to remove obstacles, etc.

At daybreak on the 7th, the army marched in two divisions towards St. Malo (distant about seven miles), where they arrived in the evening. The route lay across country; the difficulties of marching were great.

The 2nd Brigade returned to camp on the night of the 8th. A terrible storm raged during the night; not a tent was left standing. About noon on the 9th the army struck their tents and marched in one column to Cancalle. On the 12th the whole force re-embarked on board the transports, sailed on the 21st, arrived off the Isle of Wight on the 25th, returned to the French coast on the 27th, sailed for England on the 29th, and disembarked at St. Helens on June 30th, 1758.

Kingsley's regiment was one of those selected

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<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xviii., 1758.

for service in Germany to take part in the "Seven Years' War," which was now well in the third year. It embarked from Gravesend in July, landed at Embden on August 3rd, and on the 5th the whole force of five cavalry and five infantry regiments began their march to join the allied army under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The XX., 25th, and 51st regiments formed a brigade under Major-General Kingsley, and they reached Coesfeld on August 17th, and three days later were reviewed by Prince Ferdinand.<sup>1</sup> ("Grand-looking fellows," said the Germans.) The army was engaged chiefly in changing encampments and positions. There was, on October 10th, an action of very considerable proportions, but there is no trace of Kingsley's having been engaged. On October 14th the whole of the allies marched from Munster to Telligt, leaving a garrison in Munster.<sup>2</sup>

On the 18th they were encamped at Soest, and on the 22nd made a movement in the direction of Hoffstadt. On the 28th they were again concentrated at Munster, and in this town Kingsley's went into winter quarters on November 16th and 17th.<sup>3</sup>

Generally speaking, winter quarters extended

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<sup>1</sup> "Frederick the Great," vol. viii., p. 123.

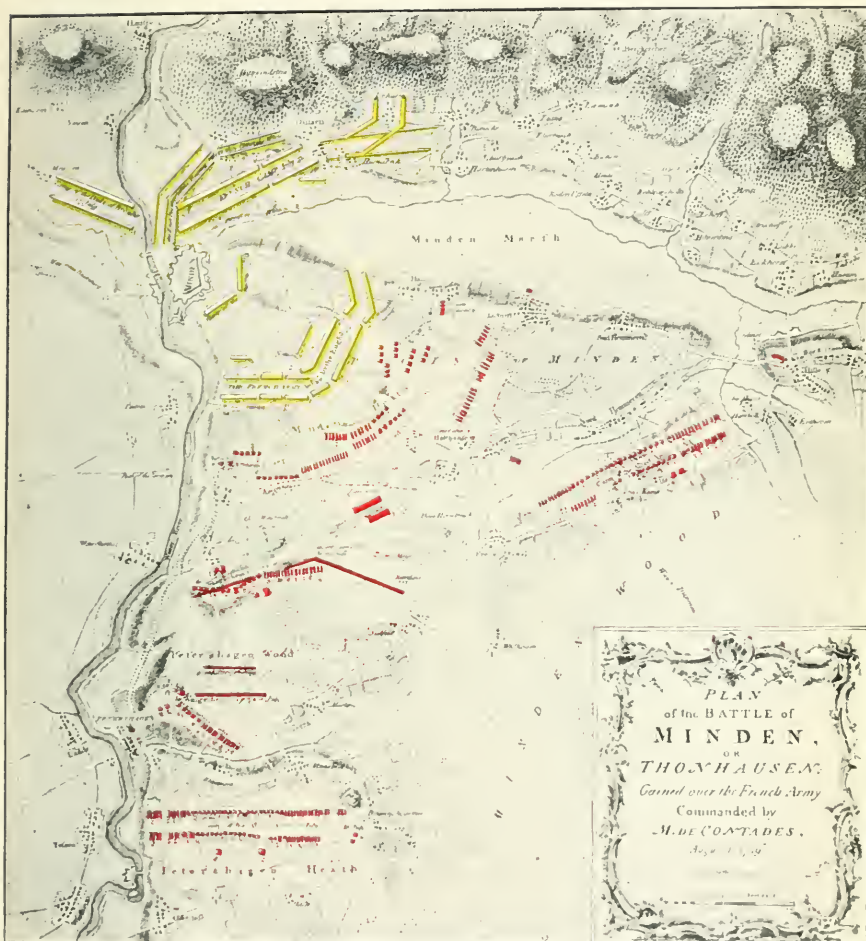
<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Marlborough, Commander-in-Chief of the British division, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, dated Kossfeld, August 15th, 1758, says :—"Nothing but rains and uncertainties ; marching latterly up to our middles in water ; have come from Embden straight towards Wesel country, almost one hundred and fifty miles (Soest still a good sixty miles to south-east of us)."

<sup>3</sup> "The Operations of the Allied Army," London, 1764.

from October to April. The troops were, as a rule, quartered on the inhabitants of the district or town they were ordered to occupy. The non-commissioned officers were held responsible that they were clean in their habits and mode of living. They slept two in a bed. The winter season was the period devoted to recruiting. As soon as the campaign was concluded a certain number of officers were sent home to raise the number of recruits necessary to make good the losses of the year. In recruiting, the efforts of officers were restricted to their own corps. The summer period in England extended from Lady Day to Michaelmas. Réveille was at 5.30, and tattoo at 9 p.m. In winter the hours were 6.30 and 8.









*Sketch Map of the Field of Minden*



- a a* Centades Camp      *b b* Broglie's Camp  
*c c* Ferdinand's position, night of July 31<sup>st</sup>  
*d d* Wingenheims position, night of July 31<sup>st</sup>  
*e e* Ferdinand's Line of Battle.  
*f f* French Line of Battle.  
*g* French Cavalry      *h* English Infantry  
*i* English & Hanoverian Cavalry under Sackville.



## CHAPTER XII.

1759—1760.

Officers of Kingsley's, June, 1759—Allies Concentrated—Maxwell's Grenadiers—Positions of the Armies near Minden—Battle of Minden—Advance of the Six Regiments—Destruction of French cavalry—Casualties—Colonel Beckwith—Order of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick—Rejoicings in England—Laurel Wreath—Minden Rose—Surrender of Garrison—Surprise of Wetter—Winter quarters, 1760—Passage of the Diemel—Battle of Warburg—Attack by Hereditary Prince—Stubborn resistance of Regiment Bourbonnois—Gallant action of Colonel Beckwith—Maxwell's Grenadiers—Ferdinand's Letter to George II.—Columns Operating—Surprise of Zicremberg—Night Attack on Kloster—Kampen—Failure of the Reserves—Repulse of the Prince's Division—Casualties of English—Mauvillon—Passage of the Rhine—Winter quarters—Accession of George III.

AT the beginning of the chapter dealing with the campaign of 1759, and the glorious battle of Minden, a list of the names of the officers who were in the regiment in June, 1759, will be of interest. This list is not complete, as one of the colours was carried by Ensign Lawrence, whose name does not appear. The "Army List" was then only an annual publication, which accounts for the omission :—

COLONEL : William Kingsley (Major-General).

LIEUT.-COLONEL : John Beckwith.

MAJOR : John Maxwell.

CAPTAINS : Charles Grey, Joseph Frearson, John

Parr, Walter Stewart, Alexander Tennant, William Cowley, C. Kellond Courtney.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT : David Parry.

LIEUTENANTS : Edmund Bradshaw, John Thompson, Edward Brown, Thomas Charlton, George Norbury, George St. George, Henry Conyngham, Luke Nugent, George Denshire, Thomas Pringle, William Walcott, John Sponge, James Clarke, William Nugent, Whitby Boswell, Francis Wemyes, John Breever, Thomas Thompson.

ENSIGNS : William Dent, William Renton, John Crawford, Bolton Power, Thomas Dawson, John Stenhouse, Nevin Irwin, Charles Bourke.

CHAPLAIN : William Agar.

ADJUTANT : Thomas Charlton.<sup>1</sup>

QUARTERMASTER : John Clarke.

SURGEON : George Fred Boyd.

On June 3rd, 1759, the British infantry quitted their cantonments, and encamped near Lynen. The allied army was assembled by June 11th in the neighbourhood of Werle and Soest, and the Grenadier companies of the six British regiments were formed into a battalion (2nd Grenadier Battalion), the command of which was given to Major Maxwell,<sup>2</sup> of Kingsley's. On June 13th the army marched to Anrehte ; and on the 14th to Buren, where it encamped. The allies advanced to Lipstadt on the 19th ; they passed the river Lippe,

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<sup>1</sup> The orthography of the original list has been adhered to, but the correct spelling of this name is Carleton.

<sup>2</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," by an Officer, 1764, p. 93.

both above and below the town, and then retired towards Rhittberg, pitching their camp near to that town, and in an advantageous position. On the 30th they quitted Rhittberg, and encamped in the vicinity of Marienfeldt, and on July 3rd Diffen was reached. As the outposts and light troops of both armies were now in touch, skirmishes were of frequent occurrence.

The army moved in three columns from Stoltyenau to Petershagen Heath; but the position of the enemy was found to be too strong to admit of its being attacked with any prospect of success. On July 17th the whole of the allied forces advanced in nine columns to the plain of Minden, and was formed in line of battle in rear of the village of Tonhausen, remaining in this position until four o'clock in the afternoon, when they retired, and occupied the camp of the previous day. The army marched in three columns, by the right of Petershagen camp to that of Hille, on the 29th, and encamped between Hille and Fredewald, with the villages of Nord, Hemmeren, and Holthausen in its front. The headquarters of Prince Ferdinand were at the village of Hille, and were guarded by Napier's (12th) and Kingsley's (XX.) regiments. This was the last disposition of any importance previous to August 1st.

Prince Ferdinand was most exact in his instructions, even desiring that commanding officers would at once study the ground in their vicinity, and obtain accurate information regarding the road-



ways and routes leading from their present positions on to the plain of Minden.<sup>1</sup>

Contades, the French Marshal, obtained special permission from the King to attack the allied army, and bring them to battle. He had thirty thousand men under his immediate command who were in an unassailable position, stretching from the Weser on his right, with the town of Minden on his right front (north-eastwards); on his left a heavy quagmire, and in front an impassable brook, called Bastau, which discharges itself into the Weser at Minden. On the east bank of the Weser the Duke de Broglie had 20,000.

Prince Ferdinand's semi-circular line extended from the Weser; where his left rested, to Hartum, with the bog of Bastau on his right, the villages of Stammern and Holthausen standing in the centre, and at nearly equal distance from both flanks.

The seemingly weak point in Ferdinand's dispositions was an intervening break of nearly three miles between General Wanganheim's division, which held the left of the position and the next. Wanganheim's right flank was apparently without support. This was the point that Contades intended to crush and carry before Ferdinand could send it succour. This left flank—suspended in mid-air, as it were—was the bait which tempted the Marshal to leave his fastness behind Minden.

The whole night of Tuesday, July 31st, the

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," by an Officer. London, 1764; p. 99.

French (51,400 men, cavalry and infantry, with 162 guns) were on the march. Nineteen bridges enable them to cross the Bastau brook. Prince Ferdinand had to maintain his arc-like position with 36,000 men and 170 guns. The position of Contades was convex in form—Minden about the centre and in rear of it. His cavalry were in the centre, with the infantry massed on either side of it. The reason assigned for this unusual formation was that the ground was firm in the centre, and boggy on either side of the heath. Batteries of thirty-six and thirty guns were on each flank, and the cavalry were to attack Wanganheim's unsupported flank.

The morning of Wednesday, August 1st, was very misty. Although Ferdinand suspected a move, he had no trustworthy information that the whole French army were in motion until three o'clock, when a messenger from the outposts reached headquarters with the intelligence. Thus were two hours lost to the allies. From five o'clock the English and Germans, in eight columns, were on the march, moving in an easterly direction. The French guns opened fire at three, and kept up a cannonade while the allies were taking up their appointed positions.

The English regiments (in two brigades)—the 12th, XX., 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st—were in the centre column, commanded by General Spörcke. The battle began at eight o'clock by the German troops, under the Prince of Anhalt, clearing the French out of Hahlen, which they had occupied that morning. The unpardonable dilatoriness of

Anhalt had delayed the deployment of Spörcke's column. Prince Ferdinand had ordered that the centre was not to move until Hahlen was secured, and his whole line formed. On the right of the first English brigade was Napier's (12th), on the left the 23rd, now the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and in the centre Stuart's (37th). Kingsley's (XX.) was on the right of the second brigade and on the right of the line of Spörcke's column, then Brudenel's (51st); and on the left was Holmes' (25th). The Hanoverian Guards and Hardenburg's regiment were on the left of the English brigades.

The six regiments had been ordered to march by beat of drum; that was the signal. They took it to mean by beat of their own drums. The roll was promptly given, and, with equal promptitude, they all stepped off.<sup>1</sup> Aides-de-camp flew to stop them, and they halted near a fir-wood, but only for a few minutes.<sup>2</sup> To the astonishment of all, the roll of the drums was again heard, and off the first brigade went, not even waiting for the second and Hanoverians to complete their deployment. This caused these two brigades to be out of the alignment. The formation as they advanced resembled an advance by echelon from the centre.

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<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—At this period, and well into the nineteenth century, everything was done by beat of drum. From a military dictionary (James) we learn that the different beats were:—The *assembly*; the *general*, to give notice that the troops are to march; the *march*, to command them to move with the left foot first; *-tat-too*, or, as it was more frequently written, *tap-too*, no more drinks, all to retire to their quarters; the *reveillé*; to arms; the *retreat*; the *alarm*; the *parley*; the *chamade*.

<sup>2</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army." London, 1764.

In this order they bore down on the enemy's cavalry, ten thousand strong, and, for a space of 150 yards at least, passed through a cross-fire from sixty-six guns. They boldly pushed on. The French cavalry charged furiously, but, reserving their fire, as they had been ordered, till the horse were within forty paces of them, the English regiments then delivered such a crashing, deadly pour of lead that it brought rider and horse to the ground, and sent the others off in dire confusion. Six times did the cavalry charge, and six times were they shattered, repulsed, and followed by this line of red coats. Four brigades of infantry and thirty-two guns now came from the French left rear, to enfilade the English regiments.<sup>1</sup> Then the second line of French horse came down upon them. Under this threefold storm they for a moment hesitated, but only for a moment. They closed their ranks, and gave the charging squadrons such a volley as sent them off the field. Then they turned on the French infantry, and forced them back with great loss.<sup>2</sup> It was at this juncture of the fight, when the cavalry had been destroyed, that Prince Ferdinand sent for the English cavalry of the right, to charge and complete the ruin of the French. Five times was the order repeated, and five times did Lord George Sackville fail to

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army." London, 1764, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Wolfe's orders for fire-discipline in the Appendices are worth reading when considering the terrible effect of the fire at Minden.

obey.<sup>1</sup> The amazing attack by the infantry had gained the day, not in the destruction of the French cavalry, but in that it gave Prince Ferdinand time to complete his dispositions, to fill up the interval on Wangenheim's right, and to bring his guns into action. Marshal Contades said in anguish: "I have seen what I never thought to be possible—a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry ranked in order of battle, and tumble them to ruin." History may be searched without finding its equal.<sup>2</sup>

The German cavalry made a brilliant charge, destroying the enemy's infantry, and the pursuit was skilfully made by Foy's and Maclean's brigades of artillery.<sup>3</sup> Between nine and ten the battle was over. The French were completely beaten, and hastily retreated under the guns of Minden to their position behind the marsh.

The allied army lost two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two men. The casualties of the French were from ten to eleven thousand men, and the greater part of its baggage, seventeen standards and colours, and forty-three guns fell into our hands.

The loss of the six English regiments was one

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<sup>1</sup> Lord George Sackville was tried by court-martial, and found guilty, and deprived of all his military emoluments. Some years later he reappears on the scene as Lord George Germain and Secretary of State for War, unfortunately for England, during the war with the American colonies.

<sup>2</sup> "Frederick the Great," Carlyle.

<sup>3</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," London, 1764, pp. 102-112; "Frederick the Great"; and many other authorities.



the original painting in the  
Schaumburg Lippe. The  
foreground, probably meant



# BATTLE OF MINDEN.





thousand three hundred and ninety-four officers and men killed and wounded; of this number Kingsley's had the largest proportion, which was as follows:—Captains J. Frearson, W. Stewart, and W. Cowley; Lieutenants E. Brown, G. Norbury; Ensign J. Crawford, one Sergeant, and seventy-nine rank and file were killed. Captains Charles Grey, John Parr, Alexander Tennant; Captain-Lieutenant David Parry, Lieutenants Luke Nugent, John Thompson,<sup>1</sup> George Denshire, and William Bosswell; Ensigns N. Irwin, William Dent, and William Renton; twelve Sergeants, and two hundred and twelve rank and file were wounded.

Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith, the officer commanding the XX., was appointed Aide-de-Camp to H.S.H. Prince Ferdinand on the field of Minden, in recognition of his own and the regiment's distinguished services at this ever memorable victory.<sup>2</sup>

The severe loss sustained by the regiment at Minden caused the following general order to be issued by Prince Ferdinand:—

“Minden, August 2nd, 1759.

“Kingsley's regiment of the British line, from its severe loss, will cease to do duty.”

<sup>1</sup> In Appendix, see extract from a letter from this officer, dated “Hospital at Minden, August 18th, 1759.”

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Beckwith commanded, with great distinction, a brigade of Grenadiers throughout the war. He joined the regiment as Ensign on 12th June, 1733, and promoted Lieutenant July 1st, 1740 (O.S.)

NOTE.—“Colonel Lawrence, who carried the colours of the XX. Regiment at the battle of Minden, was ever fond of repeating that his regimental comrades bore the brunt on that celebrated day.”—“Fifty Years Recollections,” by Cyrus Ridding, p. 27, vol. i.

But the zeal and *esprit de corps* which animated the survivors of the XX. is shown in the general order dated—

“Minden, August 4th, 1759.

“Kingsley’s regiment, at its own request, will resume its portion of duty in the line.”

The following are extracts from the general order issued by H.S.H. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick to the army after the battle :—

“His Serene Highness orders his greatest thanks to be given to the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the English infantry and the two battalions of Hanoverian Guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing: His Serene Highness states publicly, that next to God, he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assures them he shall retain the strongest sense of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occasion, he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure.

“His Serene Highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to Major-Generals Kingsley and Waldegrave for their great courage, and the good order in which they conducted their brigades.”

We will now quote from another authority to show that His Serene Highness did not forget the British infantry and their services in this brilliant victory.

On June 28th, 1827, General Sir George Don, in presenting colours to the 12th Regiment, said : "In 1797, I attended the renowned Duke of Brunswick on the spot where this battle (Minden) was fought. After His Serene Highness had shown me the position occupied by the British, he said, '*It was here the conflict was most obstinate, and it was here that the British infantry gained immortal glory.*'"

The victory afforded the greatest satisfaction to the people of England. Horace Walpole writes : "Every house in London is illuminated, every street has two bonfires, every bonfire has two hundred squibs."

Minden and Kingsley's have found a place in works of fiction. In the "Virginians,"<sup>1</sup> after describing General Wolfe as he lived, Thackeray thus introduces the XX. :—"Why are you gone back to rugged rocks, bleak shores, burning summers, nipping winters, at home, when you might have been cropping ever so many laurels in Germany? Kingsley's are coming back as covered with them as Jack-a-Green on May-day."<sup>2</sup>

For its services at Minden the regiment was honoured by the "laurel wreath" being placed on its colours and appointments as a never-failing

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii., p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> A tradition, believed to be well founded, is handed down that at Minden the XX. at one time was marching through flower gardens, and that many of the men put roses in their button-holes. This circumstance has united the rose with the memory of the battle. See also Colonel Thomas' speech at the presentation of colours by the Duke of Wellington. Tradition also speaks of a peculiar battle-cry by Kingsley's

memorial of its conduct in this glorious victory.<sup>1</sup> On the night of August 1st the enemy passed the Weser, and burned the bridges over that river.

The garrison of Minden surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the morning of the 2nd : at noon the same day, Prince Ferdinand entered the town of Minden. His Serene Highness followed up the victory at Minden with great energy : on the 4th, the army marched to Gosfeld ; to Hervorden on the 5th ; to Bielefeld on the 6th ; to Stakenbroeck on the 8th ; and to Paderborn on the 9th.

On the 10th, the rearguard of the enemy was attacked, and fifty waggons laden with provisions were captured. The allied army marched to Delem on the 11th, and on the 12th encamped at Stalberg ; it entered the country of Waldeck on the 13th, then directing its march so as to gain the flank of the enemy, who was in position near Cassel. This position, however, was abandoned on the 18th, and Cassel capitulated on the 19th.

On the night of August 26th, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick marched towards Wetter, and, early in the morning of the 27th, surprised Colonel

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at Minden. The anniversary of Minden has always been celebrated by the corps. The late Lieutenant-General P. Bainbrigge mentions being present at a Minden dinner at Malta in 1802, when the Minden toast was given. When in India, the 1st Battalion's festivities extended over three days, and included horse-racing, etc. In recent years, the celebrations have been worthily carried out. Trooping of the colours at noon (every officer and man wears a rose), athletic sports, Minden dinners, etc.

<sup>1</sup> By the victory of Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunswick were preserved, and the enemy obliged to evacuate the greater part of Westphalia.

Filcher's corps, consisting of two thousand men, whom they attacked and entirely defeated with a loss of sixty men. Numbers were wounded and four hundred made prisoners; the camp equipage and a great number of horses were also captured.

Colonel Beckwith, at the head of the British Grenadiers, particularly distinguished himself on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

The allies captured the town of Marpurg on September 5th, encamped at Elermhausen on the 6th, and, on the 10th, marched to Neider-Weimar.

On October 12th, they occupied Crossdoff, remaining there until December 5th, when they were cantoned in the villages surrounding that place. Thus ended the year 1759, which was one of great victories for England in Canada, India, and Germany. This year also saw the completion of the Horse Guards.

The new year still found the regiment in the field. For the greater convenience of the troops the position was changed to Marpurg on January 4th, 1760. On January 19th, the different corps of the allied army began their march to their respective winter quarters, the British having been assigned the town of Osnaburg, where they arrived on January 29th.<sup>2</sup>

Major-General Kingsley, Colonel of the regiment, was appointed Governor of Fort William on March 22nd, 1760.

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," pp. 139-153.

On May 5th, the army again took the field. The last division reached Paderborn on the 12th, and marched on the 14th towards Fritzlar, where they encamped on the 20th. The Marquis of Granby joined the army on the latter date and assumed command of the British forces. The allies quitted their camp on June 24th, and encamped at Frillingdorff; on the 25th they advanced to Neustadt.

On July 17th, a large body of the French appeared upon the right of our line, where the Marquis of Granby had his headquarters. Their irregulars advanced and fired upon our picquets, which were posted in a wood. The regiments of Kingsley (XX) and Home (25th), who were posted at the headquarters, immediately joined the picquets, and the enemy were repulsed. The Marquis removed his camp to Saltsbach, and the two regiments joined the line.<sup>1</sup> The army encamped at Wolfshagen on the 25th; at Zierem-berg on the 26th; and at Kalle on the 27th; the rearguard having been severely engaged all day. On the afternoon of the 29th, Spörcke's corps crossed the Diemel, and on the 30th, the whole force was encamped between Liebenau and Cor-beke, the left flank resting on the Diemel.

Broglie threatened an attack this day, but after some cannonading, withdrew. Prince Ferdinand was not deceived by this demonstration, the object of which was to gain time, so he resolved to pass

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

the Diemel and crush De Muy, who stood between him and Westphalia. The Hereditary Prince and General Spörcke reconnoitred the enemy's position, and recommended that they should turn his left flank, while Ferdinand and the main army advanced against his front. De Muy occupied a high ridge, his right resting on Warburg, from which place the battle that ensued takes its name, and his left near the village of Ochoendorf. On his left front lay the village of Poppenheim, and to his left rear a circular hill. The plan decided upon was that the Hereditary Prince and Spörcke should advance in two columns from Corbeke, and form in three lines behind the hill and Poppenheim, so as to fall on De Muy's left flank and rear; while Ferdinand crossed the Diemel at Liebenau and attacked his centre and right. The allied camps were ten and fifteen miles from the position to be attacked, the greater distance having to be covered by Spörcke's troops, who marched by Gross Eider.

To ensure success the combined operation required the utmost exactness in execution. At nine o'clock in the evening of July 30th, the army marched from Kalle, and by six o'clock next morning the columns were crossing the Diemel. The passage of the river caused an unexpected delay, and upset the calculations as to time. At seven o'clock, without waiting for the main body under Ferdinand, the Hereditary Prince and Spörcke proceeded to carry out their part of the attack. One column took a northerly course, and the other



a southerly. The northern column was led by the Royal Dragoons, while the battalion of British Grenadiers under Colonel Maxwell (XX) marched at the head of the infantry. The Prince's column, having the shortest distance to encompass, was the first to arrive, and by half-past one his guns were in position, and opened fire. The French troops at once retreated, but the regiment Bourbonnois turned about, with the intention of occupying the high hill at the rear of the French position.

This had to be prevented, as its seizure and occupation was a salient feature of Ferdinand's plans. Colonel Beckwith (XX), who was commanding a brigade, rushed forward with only ten Grenadiers, taking care to keep out of sight of the French, and with his small party lined the crest. When the Bourbonnois came on the scene they were met with a sharp fire. Not knowing with what force the position was held, they halted until their second battalion came up. By this time Colonel Beckwith was joined by Daulhort's battalion of Hanoverians. The struggle was now stern and fierce as to who would hold the crest, the crucial point for both opponents. The two battalions Bourbonnois outnumbered Beckwith's command by ten to one, and the Hanoverians were showing signs of the stress of the attack, when Maxwell's battalion of Grenadiers came up and set matters right at the critical moment. Further French reinforcements were being hurried up, but a battery of English artillery came oppor-

tunely into action and restored the balance. The heads of the southern columns also appeared, and taking the reinforcements in disorder, hustled them back in confusion. The effect of the turning movement could not be driven home until the southern column was able to deliver its frontal attack. A tiresome night march, followed by a hot, sweltering day, exhausted many of the infantry; they would not fall out, but fell insensible in their ranks.<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand ordered the British cavalry and artillery to push on and make the attack, which his infantry were unable to accomplish.

They did so, under the leadership of Lord Granby, with a boldness and dash that surprised all who witnessed it, and the French squadrons did not wait for them, but turned in disorder and fled. When the cavalry had disappeared, Lord Granby led his squadrons against the infantry, who, finding themselves attacked on both flanks, broke their ranks, and in one huge, panic-stricken mass, rushed into the Diemel, throwing down their arms so as to be free of any impediment that might retard their flight. The cavalry pursued, carrying death among this horde of fugitives, whose destruction was almost completed by the British artillery, who, from the bank of the river, kept up a heavy fire. The French loss was not less than seven

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<sup>1</sup> They pressed their march as much as possible; many of the men, from the heat of the weather and overstraining themselves to get on through the morassy, difficult ground, suddenly dropped down on their march.—Lord Granby's despatch, *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. xxx., pp. 386, 387.

thousand men, and that of the allies fourteen hundred, including two hundred and forty of Maxwell's grenadiers, and amongst these no less than two sergeants and thirteen rank and file of the XX killed, while Captain Tennant, three sergeants, and thirty-five men were wounded—a considerable proportion.<sup>1</sup>

Prince Ferdinand, in a letter to His Majesty King George the Second, dated Warburg, August 1st, says:—"Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the English brigade formed of English Grenadiers and Scotch Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly, and has been wounded in the head."

On the evening of the battle, the English division crossed the Diemel and encamped upon the heights of Wilda, about four miles from Warburg. The allies now held a position along the line of the Wesel, while the French, in superior numbers lay on the opposite bank, with detached columns, working in different directions.

One of the counter-strokes of the Hereditary Prince was the surprise of the town of Zieremberg<sup>2</sup> by a force of five battalions of infantry, eight squadrons of cavalry, and a detachment of Highlanders. At eight o'clock on the night of the 5th of September they marched from camp, Maxwell's battalion of Grenadiers, one hundred and fifty

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<sup>1</sup> "Our loss is moderate, and falls chiefly upon Maxwell's battalion of Grenadiers, which did wonders."—*London Gazette*, Saturday, August 9th, 1760.

<sup>2</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 169.

Highlanders, and Kingsley's XX. forming the head of the column.

At a mill about two English miles from the town, and within sight of the enemy's guards, Maxwell's Grenadiers took one road, the XX. and the Highlanders another ; when they came within half a mile of the town the vedettes of the grand guard challenged them, but did not push forward to reconnoitre. The men marched in the most profound silence, and in a few moments they saw the fires of the enemy's picquets. The noise of their trampling over the gardens gave the alarm, and the enemy began to fire ; upon which the attacking force ran towards the town with unloaded firelocks, and, having killed the guard at the gate, rushed into the town and drove everything before them. Never was there a more complete surprise. The attack was so sudden that the enemy had not time to get together in any numbers, but fired from the windows upon the assailants, who rushed into the houses and made a severe use of their bayonets. The number of killed and wounded was considerable, from an ill-judged resistance on the part of those in the houses ; but in justice to our men it must be said that they gave quarter to all who asked it ; there were also several instances of their refusing to take money from the prisoners, who offered them their purses. The troops were withdrawn from the town about three o'clock in the morning, and arrived in camp about eight. Their conduct

upon this occasion received the highest commendation. The loss of the English was less than ten men, which was considered wonderful in a night attack. General Griffen, who went into the town with the Prince at the head of Kingsley's, received a bayonet thrust from one of his own men, who heard him speaking in French to a soldier whom he had seized.<sup>1</sup> Brigadier-General de Normon, thirty-five officers, four hundred and twenty-eight men were taken prisoners, and two guns captured.

Prince Ferdinand had designs on Wesel, the French base on the Rhine, and the month of September was occupied with preparations for the stroke. The Hereditary Prince had a strong division covering the siege of Wesel. On October 1st, General Waldegrave's brigade, composed of two battalions of British grenadiers, Highlanders, Kingsley's XX., and the 25th regiment, marched towards the lower Rhine. The brigade passed the Rhine by a bridge about two miles below the town of Wesel, and joined the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. They were followed by Howard's brigade on the 2nd. After a number of remarkable forced marches, Marshal Castries was in strength so superior to the Hereditary Prince that the latter had either to fight superior numbers or retreat. He decided to fight.

The French Marshal's position lay behind a canal, with his right resting on Rheinberg, and the

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 170.

abbey of Kloster-Kampen before his left front. The straggling village of Kampenbröck stood before his left, but on his own side of the canal. On the Western side of Kampenbröck was a morass covered with sparse and stunted trees. Paths were cut through the wood, and these led to the bridge that connected the village and the abbey, by means of this bridge was the Hereditary Prince's only way to get into the French camp. It was guarded by two thousand irregulars, who were posted in and about the abbey. On October 15th all was ready, and the troops marched at midnight to attempt to carry the place by surprise. The force was in five divisions: cavalry leading, followed by two battalions of Highlanders and two of British grenadiers; then the main body of Kingsley's and the 25th, with eight Hanoverian battalions, all led by General Waldegrave. The reserve was commanded by General Howard, while the rear guard consisted of British and German dragoons. At three o'clock on the morning of the 16th the advance parties came upon the French outposts, held by their irregulars, a mile and a half from Kloster-Kampen.

They reached the bridge without opposition, and thus severed the irregulars in the abbey from the main body, who were attacked and routed. The Prince, at the head of the British Grenadiers, penetrated into the wood and village of Kampenbröck. The firing alarmed the French in their camp, and the officers turned out to visit their



picquets, when one stumbled into the midst of the British Grenadiers, and at once gave the alarm. He was bayoneted on the spot ; but his devotion saved the French. Three battalions hurried to the scene, and the supports of the allies arriving at the same time, a very intricate and determined night-battle ensued. The struggle surged backwards and forwards until daybreak, when the French brought up additional battalions. Through one of the mischances of war, the reserves could not be found, and their absence imperilled the allies. The fight continued until the Prince fell from his horse wounded, and the ammunition being short, they suddenly gave way before the front and flank attacks. The French broke into their disordered ranks ; but at this moment the 15th Dragoons charged two battalions, and broke them to fragments. This gallant charge gave the infantry time to recover themselves and retreat in good order. The reserve reached Kloster-Kampen in time to cover the retiring troops, and by noon the battle was ended.

The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick halted upon a moor, not far distant from the scene of action, where his exhausted troops lay upon their arms all night.<sup>1</sup> Of the allies, ten officers, sixteen non-commissioned officers, two hundred and twenty-one rank and file were killed ; sixty-eight officers, forty-three non-commissioned officers, and eight hundred and twelve rank and file wounded ; and

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<sup>1</sup> *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. xxx., p. 484.



four hundred and twenty-nine rank and file were taken prisoners. The casualties of the XX. were one sergeant and twenty-two rank and file killed. Captain Charles Grey, Lieutenants Nugent, Pringle, Power, five sergeants, and one hundred and twenty-six rank and file wounded ; Lieutenants Boswell and Bailey wounded and taken prisoners ; forty-nine rank and file, nearly all of whom were wounded, were also taken prisoners.

Again, the English were the heaviest sufferers. The German historian, Mouvillon, says they showed a *ganz ausnehmende Tapferkeit*,<sup>1</sup> and probably their loss was proportionate. As in all the actions of this war, the superior fire of the English infantry was remarkable, and in this fight it was so deadly that three French brigades were almost entirely annihilated. They acknowledged a loss of eight hundred and forty-one men killed, and one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five men wounded.

The Hereditary Prince marched by Genderick on the morning of the 17th ; when an attack was made on the advance column, but no authentic details are forthcoming. It was a desultory sort of engagement that lasted all day.

The bridge that had been thrown over the Rhine was swept away by the floods, which made the position of the allies desperate, as their retreat was cut off, and the ammunition exhausted.

The Prince entrenched the force behind their

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<sup>1</sup> Quite exceptional bravery.

waggon, reconstructed the bridge, and crossed the river on the 18th unmolested.<sup>1</sup> On the night of the 18th the division marched to Brunnen; on the 26th to Scheremberg; to Limbeck on the 27th; thence to Klein-Reckeim, where they encamped. The XX. went into winter quarters in the Bishopric of Munster, on December 11th, and remained there until the early part of the following February.

On the accession to the throne of King George the Third, on October 27th, 1760, the custom of renewing the commissions of officers was for the last time carried ont.

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 180.



## CHAPTER XIII.

1761—1762.

Early operations—Hardships of winter marches—French endeavour to end the War—Battle of Vellinghausen—Allies surprised—Battle of the 15th July—Renewal of Fight on 16th—Movements of the Army—Skill of Prince Ferdinand—Winter quarters—Misadventure of a night attack—Action in the Wood of Mejenbrecken—Distinguished conduct of Grenadiers—Casualties—Attack on the Fulda—Introduction of Fusilier busby—Last battle of the Seven Years' War—Amöneberg—Faulty tactics of Allies—A Fourteen hours' fight—Farewell Orders of Prince Ferdinand—German estimation of English troops—Casualties of XX.—Embarkation at Wilhelmsthal.

Contrary to the custom of the times, Prince Ferdinand decided to take the field while it was yet mid-winter, to redeem the fortunes of the last campaign by a bold effort for the re-capture of Hesse. Leaving the winter quarters on February 9th, the divisions assembled at their respective rendezvous. They were in three columns. The left column was under Spröcke, the centre column was commanded by Prince Ferdinand, while the English, who formed part of it, were under the Marquis of Granby. The right column consisted of the troops quartered in Westphalia.

The immediate object of the operations was successful, but Ferdinand was compelled to return to the Eder on March 20th. He raised the siege of Cassel, and as Broglie was four times his strength, the Prince made forced marches to regain

his former position on the Diemel. On April 1st, the troops were once more in winter quarters. The hardships from long marches and exposure during this winter expedition were so severe that it was two months before the troops were fit to take the field.<sup>1</sup> In a letter, (dated March 23rd, 1761) to Frederick the Great, Ferdinand reported that the combined effective strength of eight English battalions was seven hundred men.<sup>2</sup>

The French made a supreme effort to end the war in this year. The army of the Rhine was raised to one hundred thousand men, under the Prince of Soubise, and that of the Main to sixty thousand, under Broglie. Ferdinand had but ninety-three thousand.

With the exception of twenty thousand, his army was concentrated at Neuhoß on June 19th.

From the 20th they marched towards the French positions. On the 24th, at Soest, the English divisions were again together, under the command of the Marquis of Granby, and on the 28th

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<sup>1</sup> This is not surprising when the weight that each soldier carried is considered. This is the weight of a Grenadier's kit :—

	lbs.	ozs.
Coat ... ..	5	2
Firelock, with sling ... ..	11	0
Knapsack, with contents, viz. :—2 shirts, 2 stocks, 2 pairs of stockings, 1 pair summer breeches, 1 pair shoes, brushes, and black ball ... ..	7	10
	23	12
Other items, 6 days' provisions ... ..	39	7
Total ... ..	63	3

Drawn up by Lieut. Baillie, 1st 60th Regiment, August 28th, 1762.—

"History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Army," vol. ii., p. 524.

the allied forces moved to Werle, close to Soubise. The position was found too formidable to be attacked. Leaving Lunderen at eleven o'clock on the night of July 1st, the army worked round the left flank of Soubise's position by a forced march of thirty hours, over wretched roads, rendered almost impassable at places by the heavy rains. On July 3rd they were at Dortmund, in rear of the French. Next morning Ferdinand moved against Soubise's camp, but the French Marshal at once made for Soest, the allies in close pursuit.

By July 10th the two French Marshals joined hands at Soest, and their combined forces were not less than one hundred thousand men, while Prince Ferdinand had but sixty thousand.

He made his dispositions to give the French battle. His head-quarters were at Vellinghausen, which lies midway between the Ase and Lippe. The line from the Lippe to Vellinghausen was held by the Germans under Wutgenau; from Vellinghausen to Kerchdünckern the wooded heights were held by Granby's English division and six foreign battalions. The position extended to the rear of Werle. From Ase to Wambelu the ground was occupied by Anholt's corps, and to the right of Anholt was the division of Lieutenant-General Conway, consisting of three battalions of Guards, a battalion of Grenadiers, Townsend's brigade of the 8th, XX., 25th, and 50th. To the right of Conway was Howard's corps of the 11th, 25th, 23rd, and 51st regiments. From Hambelon

to Hilbeck was held by the Hereditary Prince's corps of twenty-five battalions. In front of the whole line was the marshy bog of Salzbach, which was almost impassable, except at the village of Scheidingen. The right flank was the weak spot in Ferdinand's defences.

The French advanced against Ferdinand on the evening of July 15th, and they certainly took the allies by surprise.

One German corps was just a thousand yards in rear of its position in the line of battle. Granby's division had scarcely time to seize their rifles and turn out ; the Highlanders had not left their tents. Yet there was no confusion. The Marquis was equal to the occasion : his dispositions were so masterful that he kept the French in check until Wutgenau was able to bring his corps into position, when both made a good defence, until the darkness ended the combat. The French had gained the advantage of taking the village of Nordel, on the right front of Granby's position.

There was skirmishing during the night. Fresh dispositions were made in the allied positions ; and at dawn on the morning of July 16th the French renewed the fight with great vigour. Although, in many places, only one hundred and fifty yards separated the two armies, the ground was so broken that they could not see each other ; yet the fire was very destructive wherever any sign disclosed an enemy. For four hours this firing continued, followed by a temporary cessation of

one hour. When the men had recovered from their state of exhaustion, it again broke out, for the French marshal had placed two guns on a height opposite the Dünckerberg. Prince Ferdinand decided that this position should be carried at all hazards, and Maxwell's Grenadiers, Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders, with four foreign battalions were ordered to carry it by storm.

The French were so thoroughly exhausted from the long fight that they cannot be said to have made any real defence. They fled with precipitation, leaving their dead, wounded, and two guns. Maxwell's battalion of Grenadiers, alone, made four battalions prisoners—the regiment Rouge falling wholly (men, cannon, flags, etc.) to Maxwell and his brigade! The ground was impassable for cavalry, and this saved the French from destruction. The loss of the XX. was only three men, exclusive of those serving in Maxwell's battalion, which are unknown.

On the 27th, the allied forces marched in the direction of Paderborn, and encamped near Evitte on the 28th. There were frequent skirmishes with the enemy on the 29th between Paderborn and Dribourg.<sup>1</sup>

The march was continued in four columns until August 13th, on which date they encamped near Blomberg, on the heights of Reilen-Kirchen. As the quartermasters were marking out the camp, the enemy appeared in force, and some smart skir-

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 223.



mishes ensued,<sup>1</sup> for Marshal de Broglie intended to occupy the same ground for his camp, but the allies were first in possession, which in this instance gave them considerable advantage. On the 19th, the French resumed their march, and crossed the Weser; they were pursued by the allies, and their rearguard was much harassed by the English under Lord Granby. On August 24th, Prince Ferdinand, at the head of all the British troops (except the Guards), proceeded by forced marches towards the Diemel, capturing the enemy's posts *en route*; at Deinglebourg, they made over three hundred prisoners.<sup>2</sup> They crossed the river, and, on August 26th, encamped at Hoff-Giesmar, within six leagues of Cassel, pushing forward an advance party to Winter-Kasten. On August 30th the English division recrossed the river, and encamped at Corbeke.

The French army retired to its strong entrenchments, near Cassel, on September 17th, being closely followed by the allies, who established their camp at Ol-Weilmar.

During the month of October, no important movement or action took place; both armies remained inactive.

Prince Ferdinand's army was in position at Obr, on the left bank of the Weser, on November 1st; the Prince moved towards Emibeck to prevent if possible, the junction of the French forces.

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 230.

November 5th and 6th were passed in a long series of skirmishes on all sides<sup>1</sup> in all of which the French were repulsed.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the army marched to and occupied the heights between Mackensen and Lithorst. As this movement turned the enemy's flank, Marshal de Broglie retreated from Emibeck during the night of the 10th, and evacuated the adjacent country.

The army moved into cantonments and winter quarters, in the Bishopric of Osnaburg, on December 4th.

The foregoing outline of the movements since Villinghausen, in which the XX took part, gives no idea of the strategic combinations to which they gave effect. This portion of the campaign is considered to be the best example of the skill, as a General, of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He kept two armies, double the strength of his own, continually on the move, without permitting them to gain the smallest advantage.

The winter quarters of the allies lay almost due south from Munster to Halberstadt. In the campaign of this year (1762) the XX were serving in the brigade commanded by Major-General C. Mompleson.

On the night of March 24th, the French, sallying forth from Göttingen, fell upon the lines of the allies at daybreak; the attack was unex-

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," pp. 237-238; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxi., p. 530.

pected ; the enemy was, however, repulsed in every direction, but with considerable loss to both sides.<sup>1</sup> The XX was at Blomberg on June 4th. On the 18th, the main body of the army was at Corbeke, the English nearer to Warburg. The French were at Wilhelmsthal on June 22nd.

On the 23rd, Ferdinand called in Lackner's German division, and when he knew this was successfully accomplished, he ordered the whole army to march at midnight.

He advanced with the main portion, in five columns, between Liebenau and Sielen, upon the front of the French, while Granby moved in a southerly direction so as to fall upon the enemy's left flank. Had all the columns carried out their movements according to the instructions and intentions of the Prince, the French would have met with utter destruction, but night attacks are invariably risky. Spörcke's column turned to the left instead of the right, which brought them towards the front of the main French army. Lackner's division met Spörcke's, and mistaking them for the enemy fired upon them.

This upset all the dispositions of the Prince. The French army were alarmed ; half asleep they started to their arms, broke up their camps, and formed up on the heights. The centre divisions under Ferdinand advanced against the French front, but were unfortunately delayed by Spörcke's column, which had completely lost its direction.

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 243.



The above portrait of Major-General Kingsley is from an engraving in the possession of J. L. Collison-Morley, Esq., late Lieutenant, 2nd Battalion, and presented by him to this Edition of the History of the Regiment.



The French having got rid of their baggage retreated on Wilhemsthal.<sup>1</sup> They now discovered that the British, under Granby, were on their left, and at once perceiving their danger commenced to retire.

The retreat of the main body of the French infantry was covered by the different regiments of French Grenadiers, the best of their infantry, and led by Stainville. They took up a position in the wood of Mejenbröcken. Lord Granby's infantry consisted of three battalions of British guards, the British Grenadiers, in three battalions (commanded by Colonel Beckwith), the 5th and 8th regiments. As the heads of the columns appeared, they were attacked by the French, but the latter were driven back as the British came into action. The struggle became a furious hand to hand fight, guns were captured and re-captured.

Meanwhile, Granby surrounded the wood on two sides, and dealt destruction to the French, all of whom were, with the exception of two regiments, either killed or taken prisoners.<sup>2</sup> The despatches announcing this action say:—"All the troops in general behaved with uncommon spirit, but particularly the 1st battalion of Grenadiers, belonging to Colonel Beckwith's brigade, who distinguished themselves greatly."<sup>3</sup> Lieutenants Power and Irwin, of the XX., were taken prisoners

<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 250; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxii., p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxii., p. 335.

in this battle ; they were serving in Major Maxwell's battalion of Grenadiers.<sup>1</sup>

There were eighteen hundred men of the French army killed, and two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two taken prisoners ; the Grenadiers of France alone had six hundred and thirty-five made prisoners.<sup>2</sup> The trophies captured were one standard, six pairs of colours, and two pieces of cannon. On the night of the action, Prince Ferdinand ordered Granby's corps to occupy a position near Cassel, and a general attack was made on the enemy's posts on the Fulda, on the 15th of July ; but as they were strongly reinforced, the attack was suspended, and the allies retired to their camp.

On July 24th, the 1st regiment of Guards, one battalion of Hanoverians, and one hundred men from each of the other regiments attacked the enemy, who were in positions on the heights of Homburg. The service was successfully carried out, and the troops encamped on the ground they had won.

Both armies were in close proximity to each other on August 1st, and both had a chain of sentries on the banks of the Fulda. During this day many skirmishes occurred, with varying success, but without important results to either

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> To this battle is due the introduction of the Fusilier busby. The 5th, having captured a large number of French grenadiers, received the privilege of wearing French grenadiers' caps, which were modified later into the Fusilier caps.—“History of the British Army,” vol. ii, p. 551.



side. There was a general engagement on August 8th. The army bivouacked on the nights of the 8th and 9th, and returned to camp on the morning of the 10th. Prince Ferdinand advanced the army on September 3rd, with the object of attacking the enemy, but halted at Staten. During the night of the 10th and morning of the 11th several smart skirmishes took place between the English and French, in all of which the latter were repulsed with loss.

On September 15th, the French were driven out of the town of Wetzlar by General Conway's division. The enemy retired in great haste and confusion, and crossed the river Lahne.<sup>1</sup>

The last battle of the seven years' war took place in the vicinity of a steep hill known as the Amöneberg, in the valley of the Ohm, which runs close to Kirchain, between steep banks. To the south of the Amöneberg was a stone bridge, by which stood a water-mill, consisting of a court with some houses. On the north-west side there is a gentle slope, a road covered by an old redoubt leading to the mill. The town and castle of Amöneberg was surrounded by a wall. The bridge and castle were both neglected by the allies. A partially completed redoubt on the allies' side of the river was commanded by the enemy's fire. The court of the mill was held by thirteen men; the old redoubt not occupied, and the castle was defended by a single battalion of irregulars.

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<sup>1</sup> "Operations of the Allied Army," p. 272.

Such was the insufficient garrison of an important outpost on the enemy's side of the river. On the night of August 20th they made a close investment of the castle, and occupied the court of the mill as well as the old redoubt. At six o'clock next morning, 21st, screened by a thick mist, they opened a heavy fire on the bridge and unfinished redoubt. Zostron's corps of Germans occupied the ground immediately before the mill (Brückemühle). Granby's corps was on the heights of Kirchain. The French had thirty guns playing on the redoubt, and under cover of this fire the infantry attacked the bridge. When the mist cleared, and the dispositions of the enemy were seen, Ferdinand ordered up Granby's corps, consisting of three battalions of British guards, three of British Grenadiers (Beckwith's brigade), two of Highlanders, and two cavalry regiments. At four o'clock in the afternoon they came into action, and the fight continued until the darkness fell. At seven o'clock the French, by a daring rush, carried the bridge, forced themselves up to the redoubt, but were repulsed, and at eight o'clock, after fourteen hours' continuously severe fighting, they withdrew. Granby's corps bivouacked above the bridge.

On the following day (September 22nd) the French forced the garrison of Amöneberg to surrender. In this battle the allies lost about eight hundred men. All the British were engaged, but the corps casualties cannot be traced.

Subsequent operations were confined to a few minor skirmishes.

During the month of October, both armies were employed making redoubts and batteries in front of their respective camps on the banks of the rivers Ohm and Lahne.

His Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick issued orders to the army on November 15th, that hostilities were to cease from that date.

On the 19th, both armies marched to their winter quarters; the English had theirs in the bishopric of Munster.

On December 30th, General Conway published to the army the following letter from His Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand:—

“His Serene Highness declares to the army that he shall always preserve the most flattering remembrance of having fought successfully at the head of those brave troops, who, composed of different nations, exerted themselves so vigorously for the public liberty, and for the honour of their own and his country; that this remembrance will not cease but with his life, and will never fail to recall to him the obligations which he has to the Generals and other officers, who, by their valour and experience, have assisted and enabled him, at the same time, to serve his country, and to make a suitable return for the confidence which his Britannic Majesty has been pleased to honour him with; he therefore returns them his thanks for the

same, and to the army in general for their obedience, which they have constantly shewn during the time he has commanded them."

On January 13th, 1763, General Conway communicated to the army the thanks of the House of Commons, "for the meritorious and eminent services which they had done for their King and country during the course of the war."

The estimation of the German authorities is not without an interest, even in our time. The historian Mauvillon, in his history of the war, thus describes the English: "The first in rank of Ferdinand's force were the English; about a fourth part of the whole army. Braver troops, when on the field of battle and under arms against the enemy, you will not find in the world; that is a truth."<sup>1</sup> Yes, and their losses were correspondingly heavy.

The total casualties—killed, wounded, and taken prisoners—of the XX, during the three years the regiment served in Germany, were twenty-eight officers, 25 sergeants, and five hundred and thirty-eight men.

On January 25th, 1763, the XX commenced its march to Wilhelmsthal, where it embarked for England in February. On returning to England, the strength of the regiment was twenty-seven officers, and seven hundred and six non-commissioned officers and privates.

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<sup>1</sup> Carlyle's "Frederick the Great," vol. ix., page 205.

Its ranks had, during the war, been re-inforced by drafts from England. As with the service generally, these annual drafts of recruits were procured by compulsion rather than by attraction. The standard height was only five feet two inches.



## CHAPTER XIV.

1763—1776.

Gibraltar—Death of General Kingsley—Changes in dress—Stop-pages of pay—Captain-Lieutenants—Stationed in Ireland—List of Officers, 1767.

THE history of the corps for the next thirteen years is uneventful, so far as war services are concerned.

In March, 1763, the XX proceeded to Gibraltar, and remained there until the summer of 1769, when it returned to England. The Colonel of the regiment, Lieutenant-General William Kingsley, under whose name it fought in the campaign in Germany, died on November 17th, 1769. About this period several changes of dress were made. Officers were required to wear Hessian boots and half-black gaiters of leather or canvas. Non-commissioned officers and privates under arms were directed to wear their hair boxed up under their hats, and were obliged to provide themselves with half-black gaiters. The manner of saluting was somewhat peculiar. All soldiers off duty were to pull off their hats to officers, but if on duty they were only to raise their hand and bow. Accoutrements which had hitherto been yellow were now ordered to be white. The annual

deduction of one shilling from the pay of each private soldier in the army, for the maintenance of Chelsea Hospital, which had been the custom since the reign of Charles II., was discontinued on April 20th, 1771.

A Royal Warrant was issued, fixing more definitely the position of Captain-Lieutenants. From May 25th, 1772, it was ordered that they should bear the rank of Captain, and rank from the date of their future commissions as Captain-Lieutenant.

In 1774 the regiment proceeded to Ireland, where it was stationed until April, 1776. Major John Lind was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, on January 6th, 1776.





## CHAPTER XV.

1776—1781.

Embarkation for Canada—Lieutenant Norman—Operations on Lake Champlain—Isle aux Noix—Major Carleton—Major Acland at Hubbardton—Fort Arne—Difficulties of march—Battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemus Heights—Convention of Saratoga—Surrender of the Army—Miserable Condition of the Prisoners—Cambridge—Removal to Rutland—March to Virginia—Winter—Arrival at Monticello—Loyalty of Troops—Exchanges—Prisoners again moved—Final exchange and release.

THE XX—with six other regiments<sup>1</sup>—embarked at Cork on the 5th of April, 1776, sailed on the 8th, arrived at Quebec on May 29th, and proceeded thence to Montreal. The regiment was at once employed on outpost duty, which was a most difficult and arduous service, the whole country being infested with spies and deserters. Lieutenant-General Sir Guy Carleton was at this time preparing a force for service against the insurgents. On reaching Vercherres on June 17th, Major Carleton was appointed to the command of the advanced guard, which consisted of two companies of the XX, three of the 24th, and two guns.<sup>2</sup>

At Longueil—a village on the banks of the St. Lawrence, opposite Montreal—on June 18th, Major Carleton was joined by a large number of

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<sup>1</sup> The 9th, 24th, 31st, 34th, 53rd, and 62nd Regiments.

<sup>2</sup> General order, dated Vercherres, June 17th, 1776.

Canadians, whom he employed night and day in making roads for the army.<sup>1</sup> On June 20th, the regiment was cantoned at Bellouiel, and at Chamblée on the 26th, where it remained until the early part of October. The nature of the duties which the regiment was called upon to perform at this period is shown by the following general order, which was published by Lieutenant-General Sir John Burgoyne:—

“Chamblée, August 9th, 1776.

“It cannot but give satisfaction to the army to know that the whole gang of deserters from Colonel Maclean’s regiment, who sought to redeem their perfidy to the rebels, in whose cause they were before engaged, by becoming a second time traitors to their King and lawful State, have been taken by the outposts and are in safe custody, except one, who received too honourable a death from the firelock of one of his guards, whom he attempted to murder after he was a prisoner. It appears by Brigadier-General Frazer’s report, that the conduct of the detachment employed in this pursuit has been truly exemplary. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne takes this occasion to express his fullest approbation and thanks to Lieutenant Norman of the XX Regiment,<sup>2</sup> who commanded it, and General Frazer will please to direct a dollar to

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<sup>1</sup> General order, dated Longuiel, June 18th, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> He joined the regiment as Ensign on February 22nd, 1771, and was promoted Lieutenant February 24th, 1775. He went on half-pay as Captain July 30th, 1783. His name was in the “Army List” as late as 1837.

be given to each man of the party, in consideration of the activity, perseverance, and spirit with which they seconded those principles in their officer."

The regiment moved to the Isle Aux Noix on September 29th.

General Sir Guy Carleton concentrated the army at Point au Fer, and the XX arrived at this place on October 11th. The object was a combined attack by the naval and military forces against the western shore of Lake Champlain. Early on the morning of the same day, the fleet, consisting of twenty-seven gun-boats, and carrying eighty-seven pieces of ordnance, proceeded under General Carleton and Captain Pringle, Royal Navy, in search of the enemy. The fleet was preceded by a body of Indians, from 800 to 1,000, in birch-bark canoes, led by Captain and Brevet-Major Thomas Carleton, XX Regiment, who commanded the advance guard of the expedition.<sup>1</sup> Major Carleton was a veritable white chief of the Indians, or, as it was the custom to call them, the savages. He painted his face, wore a ring in his nose, and adopted their dress.<sup>2</sup>

The enemy's fleet of sixteen gunboats, carrying ninety pieces of ordnance, was discovered at Valcour Island; an engagement ensued in which

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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Hadden's "Journal," pp. 18 and 19. J. M. Hadden, Lieutenant Royal Artillery, served throughout the campaign under Generals Carleton and Burgoyne. His MS. Journal and six order books were sold in London in 1874, and have since been published by Brigadier-General Rogers, U.S. Army, with no less than three hundred and eighty-eight references.

<sup>2</sup> "Revolutionary Letters," by W. L. Stone.

the Americans were totally defeated, with the loss of thirteen gunboats. The original plan of the campaign included an attack on Ticonderoga; but this was abandoned owing to the lateness of the season, and the army returned to Canada for winter quarters. The XX was placed in garrison at the Isle Aux Noix (the advanced post of the army) about November 15th.<sup>1</sup> This island is at the entrance of Lake Champlain, fifteen miles from St. John; it is about one mile long and five hundred yards wide, and capable of being defended; the ground rises in the centre, and is marshy near the water on both sides. The XX erected several blockhouses and earthworks for the defence of the island.<sup>2</sup>

The island was extremely barren, but during the open season the scarcity of provisions was not felt, owing to the large quantities of fish of all kinds, which were caught round the island. During the winter months, when the lake was frozen, the men were afflicted with scurvy; many were in hospital, some died, but the majority recovered.<sup>3</sup> The advance of the army into the revolted provinces having commenced under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, the XX left the Isle Aux Noix about the middle of June, and joined Brigadier-General Frazer's brigade; but, by a general order dated Cumberland Head, June 18th, 1777, it was placed in the right

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<sup>1</sup> Anburey's "Travels." vol. i., p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Hadden's "Journal," p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant Hadden's "Journal," p. 54.

wing, 2nd Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Powell.<sup>1</sup> On Tuesday, July 1st, the army marched to Crown Point, whence it embarked and crossed Lake Champlain, and encamped within four miles of Ticonderoga; the German troops occupying the opposite shore. The total strength of the XX on this day (sick included) was five hundred and twenty-eight rank and file.<sup>2</sup>

During the night of July 5th, the Americans abandoned their works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, leaving all their guns, stores, and provisions; a large detachment proceeded towards Hubbardton; the remainder, embarking on board their vessels, sailed in the direction of Skeensborough. The retreat of the enemy was discovered at daybreak, on July 6th, and they were pursued by a portion of Brigadier Frazer's corps towards Hubbardton. The remainder of the army embarked on board the fleet at eight a.m. forced the enemy's boom, and made for Skeensborough. About two p.m., Brigadier-General Frazer came up with the enemy, who considerably outnumbered his force; owing to this superiority, the enemy nearly succeeded in outflanking the British force, and, for a time, the result of the action seemed doubtful, when a detachment under Major-General Reidesail, which had been sent as a support, fortunately arrived, and the enemy were repulsed on all sides. In the battle of Hubbardton, as this engagement was called, the

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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Hadden's "Journal," p 68.

<sup>2</sup> Adjutant-General's state.

Americans lost their commander—Colonel Francis, and two hundred men killed and the same number wounded and taken prisoners. The British loss was seventeen officers and one hundred and nine men killed and wounded. The action was commenced by the Grenadiers of the army, commanded by Major Acland of the XX, who was wounded in the thigh.<sup>1</sup> Two companies only of the XX were engaged, and there is no record of their casualties.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of July 6th, the 9th, XX—commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Lind<sup>2</sup>—and 21st Regiments landed near Skeensborough, and ascended the mountains to get behind a fort occupied by the Americans at that place; but as the three regiments gained the summit, the enemy set fire to their fort and fled with such haste that only thirty of their number were made prisoners. Another party of the enemy were pursued towards Castleton, and, being overtaken, a sharp fight ensued, in which the Americans sustained severe loss. On July 8th, the XX was detached with two field pieces towards Fort Anne, to support the 9th Regiment. On the 12th July, the whole British force (excepting one English and one German regiment) was concentrated at Skeensborough.<sup>3</sup>

The roads having been repaired, obstructions

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<sup>1</sup> Hadden's "Journal"; and Anburey's "Travels," vol. i., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> "Revolutionary Letters," W. L. Stone, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Hadden's "Journal," p. 98.

removed, bridges constructed, &c., the army advanced on July 25th to Fort Anne, fourteen miles from Skeensborough. On the afternoon of July 29th, the XX advanced with the right wing of the army to Fort Edward, fourteen miles from Fort Anne.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of August, the hottest month of the year, the army suffered from dysentery. This, together with the heavy work of transporting provisions, stores, and preparing for the advance, caused much suffering and many casualties.

An idea of the enormous physical difficulties of this campaign can be gleaned from General Burgoyne's despatches. Writing to Lord George Germain from Fort Edward, near the Hudson river, on July 22nd, he says:—"In the several skirmishes, the loss of the enemy, including killed and wounded, amounted to about three hundred. The enemy cut large timber trees on each side of the road, so as to fall across and lengthways, with branches interwoven. The troops had not only layers of these to remove in places where it was impossible to take any other direction, but also they had about forty bridges to construct, and others to repair, one of which was of log-wood over a morass two miles in extent."

These difficulties to some extent, account for the great loss of time in the months of July and August. Had General Burgoyne moved by the lakes, rather than by penetrating the forests, he would have

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<sup>1</sup> "Political and Military Episodes," p. 254.







saved his army immense labour, and would have advanced with comparative rapidity. His army was hampered with impedimenta, being accompanied by the wives of officers and soldiers; thirty carts alone were engaged with the General's personal baggage. His advance in September, was looked upon by the Americans as a rash and fatal stroke.<sup>1</sup>

On September 2nd, General Burgoyne directed that a corps of marksmen should be formed, by one non-commissioned officer and sixteen men from each of the British regiments; they were to be robust, sober, and men of good characters.

On Saturday, September 13th, at two p.m., the advanced corps and right wing, consisting of the 9th, XX, 21st, and 62nd Regiments, under Brigadier Hamilton, with all the artillery, crossed the Hudson River on a bridge of boats, near Batten Kill, and encamped at Saratoga.<sup>2</sup> The XX were ordered to advance four companies to cover the headquarters, which were at Schuyler's house.<sup>3</sup> At twelve noon, on September 15th, the army moved forward in three columns, and halted at a farm, called Dovegot<sup>4</sup> three miles from the former position. On the 17th, the army advanced three and a half miles to Sword's Farm, and at ten a.m., on Friday, the 19th, moved forward in three columns.

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of American General (Gates), September 17th, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> *Hadden's Journal*, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Hadden's Journal*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Campaign of General John Burgoyne*, by W. L. Stone, p. 41.  
(The house is still standing in good preservation.)

About two p.m. the 19th, XX, 21st, and 62nd regiments in the centre of the British position, under Brigadier Hamilton, arrived opposite Freeman's house, which they passed, and took post on the skirt of a wood, a little beyond it. They were almost immediately attacked by the enemy, who were in possession of the wood, which was eventually cleared, after a stubborn resistance, by the 24th Regiment, with a loss of fifty men. The enemy continued the attack, chiefly on the flank and rear of the 62nd Regiment, which corps suffered very much, losing one hundred and eighty-seven men killed and wounded, and twenty-five men taken prisoners. The regiment was forced to abandon its position, and with it two guns of the artillery.<sup>1</sup> The British line then retreated under Major-General Phillips, closely followed by the Americans.

During this attack the XX was thrown into a wood on the left of a cornfield, and they repulsed the enemy, thus saving the rear of the 62nd Regiment from being galled by the hostile fire.<sup>2</sup> At this critical juncture of the fight, General Riedesel brought up two companies of Germans, and two guns of the Hessian artillery full upon the enemy's flank; the guns raking them with a murderous fire of grape. This timely aid infused fresh life into the

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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Hadden's "Journal," p. 166. Lieutenant Hadden was in charge of the guns; nineteen out of twenty-two men had either been killed or wounded.

<sup>2</sup> *Hadden's Journal*, p. 166.

regiments of Hamilton's brigade.<sup>1</sup> The whole British line then advanced a second time under Major-General Phillips, and, with loud cheers, threw themselves furiously upon the enemy, and regained the captured guns also the position from which the 62nd had retired; the Grenadiers, led by General Frazer, moved forward on the right at the same moment, and the enemy being thus pressed, retreated to their works.<sup>2</sup> It was now nearly dark, and further pursuit was not attempted. In his despatch, dated Still Water, September 19th, 1777, General Burgoyne says; "About three o'clock the action began by a very vigorous attack on the British line, and continued with great obstinacy until after sunset, the enemy being constantly supplied with fresh troops. The stress lay upon the XX, 21st, and 62nd Regiments, most parts of which were engaged near four hours without intermission." In bringing the services of Major-General Phillips to the notice of the King, General Burgoyne wrote: "I am indebted to him, particularly for restoring the action in a point which was critically pressed by a great superiority of fire, and to which he led up the XX at the utmost personal hazard."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Revolutionary Letters*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Of this action, the American Historian (Stone) says: "The Continentals (nine regiments under Arnold) had, for the sixth time, hurled fresh troops against the three British Regiments, the XX, 21st, and 62nd. The guns on this wing were already silenced. These three regiments had lost half their men, and now formed a small band surrounded by heaps of the dead and dying."—*Campaign of Burgoyne*, page 47.

<sup>3</sup> The last survivor of this action (Freeman's Farm) was Colonel George Williams, a nephew of Colonel Griffith Williams, who commanded the British artillery in this fight. He was a cadet at the

Of the XX, Lieutenants Cook, Lucas, and Obins,<sup>1</sup> and many men were killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Lind was wounded in two different actions; Captain Farquhar, Lieutenants Wemys, Stanley, and Ensign Connell were wounded, also a large number of men. Burgoyne's army lay upon their guns that night, and early on the following morning took up a position within cannon shot of the enemy. The long and tedious marches, the absence of all opportunities of plundering, and the strict discipline in which they were held, made the Indians discontented, and they deserted in large numbers; and as soon as the result of the campaign became doubtful, the Provincial volunteers either returned to their homes or went over to the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

In the meanwhile the army was employed throwing up earthworks, and, by all means which the ground afforded, strengthening the position, which was now extended to the meadows bordering upon the Hudson.<sup>3</sup>

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time, and was but twelve years of age. He is said to have carried the flag of truce into the American lines, on the capitulation of Burgoyne. At the end of the war he joined the XX, and served with it for twenty-three years in Jamaica, St. Domingo, and Holland; also on the Staff of General Champagne in Ireland; seeing the rebellion of 1798. He was member for Aston in the first reformed Parliament, and died at Little Woolton near Liverpool, in 1850, at the age of 88. *Forty years in Ceylon. Revolutionary Letters*, page 117.

<sup>1</sup> Lamb, in his *Memoirs*, says: "Three subalterns of the XX, on this occasion, the oldest of whom did not exceed seventeen years, were buried together."—Quoted at page xcvi, Explanatory Chapter, Hadden's *Journal*; also Anburey's *Travels*, page 373, volume i.

<sup>2</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, Page 286.

<sup>3</sup> The following story is told of a XX man by Ensign Thomas Anburey, 24th Regiment, who served in General Burgoyne's army as a

On October 3rd, it was found necessary to place the army upon reduced rations, a measure to which it submitted without murmuring.<sup>1</sup> On October 7th, the regular troops (one thousand five hundred men, with ten guns) deployed into line, within three quarters of a mile of the left of the American position, while a body of Provincials and Indians were sent through the wood to gain the rear of the enemy's camp. This was only a reconnaissance by General Burgoyne, but the Americans advanced rapidly and in great force upon our left, where Major Acland, XX Regiment, at the head of the Grenadiers, received and checked them.<sup>2</sup> The Grenadiers were posted on a gentle eminence. The American troops marched steadily forward until our men had delivered their fire, when the enemy poured in a destructive volley, and charged on both our flanks. For thirty minutes, a bloody and hand-to-hand struggle ensued on this hill; but on Major Acland being

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volunteer, and was attached to Major Acland's Grenadiers. Ensign Anburey's work is entitled, "*Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, in a Series of Letters, by an Officer." It was published in 1791, ran through several editions, and appeared both in France and Germany. "The gallant behaviour of an old soldier of the XX deserves to be remembered. He had been wounded at the battle of Minden, and as he lay on the ground a French Dragoon rode over him, and the horse's feet rested on his breast. After having recovered from this accident, he thought himself invulnerable, and held the Americans in great contempt. When they attacked the foraging party, the hardy old veteran, sitting upon the forage which he had got on the horse, kept loading and firing his piece at the enemy, and in this manner brought his forage into camp."

<sup>1</sup> Major-General Riedesel, quoted in *Campaign of General Burgoyne*, page 48; Lamb's *Journal*, page 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, page 292.



dangerously wounded, and being pressed by enormous odds, the Grenadiers fell back, leaving the ground thickly strewn with their dead and wounded. In the square space of twelve or fifteen yards lay eighteen Grenadiers in the agonies of death, and three officers were propped up against stumps of trees, two of them mortally wounded, bleeding, and almost speechless.<sup>1</sup> In a few minutes the action was extended along the whole line, and is thus described by General Burgoyne's biographer: "Meanwhile, the American forces were pouring, in ever-increasing masses, upon the British, and the contest became a hand-to-hand struggle; bayonets were crossed again and again; guns were taken and retaken; but our men were falling fast under the withering fire of the riflemen, and there were no reserves to fill up the big gaps in their ranks. General Benedict Arnold, at the head of a column of fresh troops, charged upon the British centre, carrying all before him. Thrown into irretrievable disorder, Burgoyne's broken columns regained their camp, leaving ten guns and hundreds of dead upon the field."<sup>2</sup> The Americans attacked the British in their camp, but the darkness of an autumn evening interposed its shadows between them. In this action, called by different authorities the battle of Bemus Heights, Stillwater, and Saratoga, the British were defeated, with great loss. It was fought about half a mile from the

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<sup>1</sup> *Campaign of General Burgoyne*, page 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, page 294.

scene of the action of Freeman's Farm, and ended on the same ground. Bemus Heights is fully a mile and a quarter south of the battle-ground. The exact site of the battle is nearly mid-way between the villages of Schuylerville and Stillwater, and nine miles east of Saratoga Springs.<sup>1</sup> Of the XX, Major Acland<sup>2</sup> was shot through both legs. He was taken prisoner as a Grenadier was carrying him into camp,<sup>3</sup> and Lieutenant Dowling, of the 29th Regiment, who was attached to the XX for duty, was also wounded. Of the other casualties there is no record, but they must have been immense.<sup>4</sup>

General Burgoyne's position being untenable, it was changed during the night. On the evening of the following day (October 8th), the enemy showed a disposition to turn the right of the British by the advance of a strong column. General Burgoyne defeated this movement by falling back on Saratoga. The march, though the distance was a little over eight miles, occupied the army twenty-four hours, such were the difficulties

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<sup>1</sup> *Campaign of Burgoyne*, page 71.

<sup>2</sup> For the Adventures of Lady Harriet Acland, wife of Major Acland, see appendix.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters from Cambridge*, Anburey, page 396; *Campaign of Burgoyne*, page 60; *Lamb's Journal*, page 180.

<sup>4</sup> I have to add, my lord, a general report of the killed and wounded. I do not give it as correct, the hurry of the time and the separation of the corps having rendered it impossible to make it so.—Extract from General Burgoyne's despatch, dated Albany, October 20th, 1777.

NOTE.—In 1875, Major-General Meares (then Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 1st Battalion) found at the scene of this fight a brass plate for the cross belt, with the XX deeply engraved. This interesting relic is now in the officers' mess of the battalion.

of the ground, and the labour of transporting material. The hospital, with the sick and wounded, was left in camp. On reaching Saratoga, the heights were found to be occupied by the enemy, whose numbers now amounted to fourteen thousand. The British were surrounded, and all means of retreat cut off. The troops took up the best position they could, fortified it, and waited till October 13th, in the hope of reinforcements from Sir H. Clinton. During this time the men lay continually upon their arms, and were exposed to an incessant cannonade.<sup>1</sup> To add to the distress of the situation, the weather was unusually severe; and the men, worn out and exhausted by toil and privation, by hard fighting and constant watching, were without shelter, insufficiently clothed,<sup>2</sup> and short of food.<sup>3</sup> On October 12th, General Burgoyne called a council of war; the unanimous decision of the council was that "the present position justifies a capitulation upon honourable terms." On the 14th, the British being surrounded by superior numbers, retreat was impossible. On October 17th, 1777, the Convention of Saratoga was completed and signed. The army surrendered by marching from their encampment to the bank of the Hudson River, where they piled arms at the command of their own officers. Previous to the surrender the colours of the XX were burnt. The scenes that were now witnessed are described as

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<sup>1</sup> General Burgoyne's despatch, dated October 20th, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> *Anburey*.

<sup>3</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, page 304.

most affecting. “Young soldiers, who had borne privation and suffering without a murmur, stood abashed and overcome with sorrow and shame; bearded veterans, for whom danger and death had no terrors, sobbed like children, as for the last time they grasped the weapons they had borne with honour on many a battlefield.<sup>1</sup> From July 6th to October 12th, the losses of the army amounted to one thousand one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded, seventy-three of whom were officers. The consequence of the surrender of General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, was the loss to England of the American colonies.

Lord Mahon says: “The surrender of three thousand five hundred fighting men under Burgoyne, was more fruitful in results than those conflicts in which hundreds of thousands of men have been engaged and tens of thousands fallen.”<sup>2</sup>

According to Burgoyne’s biographer, the causes of the failure were three, viz.: “The inherent strategical vices of the project; the alternate interference and negligence of the Cabinet in its executive details; and the want of administrative arrangement and preparedness in the essentials of army supply.”<sup>3</sup>

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Shelburne<sup>4</sup> directly charged Lord George Germaine with having brought about the disaster: “the operations were

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<sup>1</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, pages 309-10.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, vol. vi., page 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, page 333.

<sup>4</sup> Served in the XX under Wolfe.

intended to be carried out by two Generals in concert with one another ; but the Minister sent positive orders to one General and discretionary orders to the other. Mr. Burgoyne is directed to march to New York or effect a junction with Mr. Howe ; the latter goes on board his ship and gets to the other side of Philadelphia," The Earl of Chatham and Mr. Fox both censured the American Minister.

After the surrender at Saratoga, the XX marched to Cambridge, near Boston, a distance of two hundred and fifteen miles, where it arrived about November 15th. During the last days of this march, great misery was endured, and the troops were often refused shelter, after tramping over bad roads in storms of rain and snow. The men were quartered at Prospect Hill, and the officers in the town of Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> The whole regiment was detained prisoners of war, the officers signing the "Cambridge Parole."

By article. ii. of the Convention, dated Camp at Saratoga, October 16th, 1777, it was agreed that "a free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest, and that the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe should so order." Congress refused to ratify this article of the Convention, and not only were the

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<sup>1</sup> *Letters from Cambridge*, Anburey, vol. ii page 55.

troops retained in captivity, but they were frequently treated in the most unkind and harassing manner. A non-commissioned officer thus recounts his experiences at this time :—" It was not unfrequent for thirty or forty persons men, women, and children, to be indiscriminately crowded together in one small open hut, their provisions and firewood on short allowance, a scanty portion of straw their bed, their own blankets their only covering. In the night time those that could lie down, and the many who sat up from the cold, were obliged frequently to rise and shake from them the snow which the wind drifted in at the openings."<sup>1</sup> The treatment meted out to the officers was equally offensive. A German officer—Schlöze, whose accuracy is admitted by American writers, describes his life as one of misery. He says, that the ink froze on his pen, and that he often had a foot of snow in his room.<sup>2</sup> They were frequently confined as prisoners in the guard rooms.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 1778 the life of the prisoners of war, or, to give them the official designation, the "Troops of the Convention," became more intolerable. On one occasion some soldiers of the 9th Regiment were standing in a group, when Colonel Henley, the American officer in command of the

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<sup>1</sup> Page 196 of *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences during the late American War*, from its commencement to the year 1783, by R. Lamb, late Sergeant in the 9th and 23rd Regiments. Published 1809.

<sup>2</sup> *Revolutionary Letters*, page 154.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters from Cambridge, Ambury* : Lamb's *Journal*, page 196.



prisoners at Cambridge, wantonly and without provocation, stabbed two of them. The Colonel was tried and acquitted. Soon after this a young Hessian soldier was bayoneted by a sentry in cold blood. The murderer was allowed to escape unpunished. On June 17th, Lieutenant Browne, of the 21st Regiment, was driving in a chaise down a hill, and being unable to stop when challenged, was shot by a sentry. Whether, as the result of these incidents, it is impossible to say, but the English regiments were towards the end of October removed to Rutland, about fifty miles from Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> By the troops this place was called "Siberia."

Early in November the English portion of the prisoners of war were on the march to Charlottesville, in Virginia.<sup>2</sup> They marched in three divisions. The XX and 21st formed the second division. The united strength of the two regiments was eight hundred and seventy-three men, and they were accompanied by women and children.<sup>3</sup> The hardships and privations of this march of six hundred miles in the depth of an American winter were terrible, but were borne with singular fortitude and endurance. On December 16th the second division had reached Lancaster, near Philadelphia. Frequently at the different halting places they were refused shelter, and it was not an

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<sup>1</sup> *Revolutionary Letters*, page 176.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from General Phillips to Secretary of State, 15th November, 1778.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Marshall's diary.



uncommon experience for them to bivouac in the woods, where the snow lay to a depth of four or five feet.<sup>1</sup>

On arrival at Monticello in Virginia, at the end of their march of six hundred miles, the unfortunate soldiers of Burgoyne's army were housed in wretched sheds, which afforded no protection from the weather. The places appointed for the officers were so far away from their men, from whom they did not wish to be separated, that they, at their own cost, built huts.<sup>2</sup> The regiments at once set to work to improve their surroundings. They made walks and promenades. The 21st Regiment built a church ; another erected a theatre, in which two performances were given weekly. The Germans made kitchen gardens, and started poultry yards.<sup>3</sup> Despite their hardships which they might have ended, as many Germans did, the British troops remained firm in their loyalty to their King and Country.<sup>4</sup>

The officers who were borne on the Strength of the Regiment, in June, 1779, the mid-term of the regiment's inactivity as prisoners of war, will be found on the appendix.

During the year 1780, the following officers of the XX were exchanged :—Captains Rollinson, Winchester ; Lieutenants Wheat, Gilbert, Gaskill,

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<sup>1</sup> *Revolutionary Letters*, page 182.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from General Phillips to the Secretary of State, New York, June 1st, 1781.

<sup>3</sup> *Revolutionary Letters*, page 183.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from General Phillips to Secretary of State, May 30th, 1779.

Crofts, Charlton ; Ensign Cooper ; Surgeon Cahill. Major-General Phillips having been released on parole, the command of the British contingent devolved upon Brigadier Hamilton. The prisoners remained in Virginia until July, 1781, when they were sent to York and Lancaster. What the Americans had desired to do, during the captivity of the British now occurred, *i.e.*, to entirely separate the officers from their men, so that the latter would then be open to inducements to leave their lawful allegiance and join the Colonists. The officers were sent to Windsor in Connecticut. Before the final separation, Brigadier Hamilton exhorted the men to obey the non-commissioned officers in all things, as if the officers were present.<sup>1</sup>

On September 3rd, 1781, the concluding exchange for the remaining prisoners of the regiment took place.

Lieut -Colonel Lind exchanged for 72 Americans.

			Prisoners.
Captain Banks	...	...	16
Lieutenant Norman	...	...	6
Ensign Moore	...	...	4
Ensign May	...	...	4

These officers arrived at New York on October 4th, and were sent to England soon after that date.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Haddon's Journal*, page 470.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Brigadier-General Hamilton to Secretary of State, New York, October 16th, 1781, and from Commissary-General of prisoners, Jos. Loring, Staten Island, September 3rd, 1781.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1783—1796.

Stationed in Ireland—Alterations in dress—Embarkation for Halifax, Nova Scotia—Commander-in-Chief—State of the army—Jeffrey. Lord Amherst—Duke of York—Camps of exercise—Increase of pay—St. Domingo—Jamaica—Attack on Tiburon—Yellow fever—XX moved to St. Domingo—Second attack at Tiburon—Repulse at Bompard—Death of Lieut.-Colonel Markham at Fort Bizotton—Arrival at Plymouth.

IN 1783 the XX proceeded to Ireland, and was stationed in that country for the next six years.

Considerable alterations were made in the dress of the army in the year 1784. By a warrant dated 21st July, it was ordered that each soldier was to carry fifty-six rounds of ammunition, thirty-two rounds in a pouch on the right side, and twenty-four rounds in a cartridge box, to be worn occasionally on the left side. The cartridge box to be attached to the bayonet belt. The cross belts to be two inches broad. The gaiters to be of black woollen cloth, with white metal buttons, and without stiff tops. The grenadier swords, also their matches and match cases were withdrawn. The light infantry were to have a small priming horn, to contain two ounces, instead of the horn and bullet bag hitherto in use. In 1786 the spontoons which the officers had hitherto carried, were discontinued.<sup>1</sup>

On June 15th, 1789, the regiment embarked for Halifax, Nova Scotia, and continued to serve in British North America until the year 1792, when it was ordered to the West Indies, and quartered in Kingston, Jamaica.

Since December, 1783, when General the Honourable H. S. Conway resigned the chief command of the army, no officer had been appointed to fill that most important position. Consequently it was a decade of retrogression. The condition of the army during these ten years is thus clearly and too painfully set forth. "Our army was lax in discipline, entirely without system; each colonel managed his regiment according to his own notions, or neglected it altogether; there was no uniformity in drill or movement; professional pride was rare; professional knowledge was more so; never was a Kingdom less prepared for a stern and arduous conflict."<sup>2</sup>

On January 21st, 1793, an officer who had commenced his military career in the XX was appointed Commander-in-Chief,<sup>3</sup> for the second

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<sup>1</sup> War Office Miscellaneous Books, 539.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to *The Great War with France*, by Lieut.-General Sir Henry Bunbury.

<sup>3</sup> In the Dictionary of National Biography, it is stated that he received an Ensigny in the Guards. But in the original Commission Book, 1730-1736, in the Record Office, Dublin, at page 45. is this appointment.

Jeffrey Amherst to be Ensign, December 1st, 1731, of that company whereof Major Mordecai Abbott is Captain, in room of Henry Hicks, Gent., preferred. At page 68, is the announcement that John Beckwith, Gent., was appointed Ensign on June 12th, 1733, in that company whereof Major Mordecai Abbott is Captain, in the regiment commanded by His Majesty's Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin, Francis, Earl of Effingham, in the room of Jeffrey Amherst, Gent.

time. This was Jeffrey, Lord Amherst. He held the position from 1778 to 1782, but his powers were only advisory. The terms of his appointment on this occasion were indefinite and peculiar. He was a General on the Staff, and the King directed that all military matters to be transacted at home, excepting those relating to the Foot Guards, were to be referred to Lord Amherst. His Royal Highness the Duke of York was created a Field-Marshal on February 10th, 1795, and at the same time appointed Commander-in-Chief. As the country was face to face with a prolonged contest with France, the army received much attention. His Royal Highness, assisted by two able officers, Generals Sir Harry Calvert and Sir David Dundas, made strenuous efforts to raise it from the state of inefficiency into which it had sunk. Camps of exercises were established, a uniform system of drill was introduced by Sir David Dundas,<sup>1</sup> and discipline, both for officers and men, was enforced.

In April, 1793, the Light Infantry companies were formed for the first time in our service, one company for each battalion.

Several attempts were made to make soldiering more popular and attractive at this period, by improving the pay. In 1792 an allowance was made to the non-commissioned officers and men, called the "new allowance for necessaries," and an additional allowance of 1½d. per diem, called "bread

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<sup>1</sup> *The Great War with France*, xxi.

money," was also granted to those on home service.

A further increase was made in 1795. The pay of a private soldier was 6d. per diem, and in addition he received 4d. as allowances. Out of the latter sum, the cost of his messing was deducted, but this was not to exceed 3s. a week. Two years later the daily pay of the private soldier was raised to one shilling (1s.)

From these reforms in the army system, and amelioration of the soldier's condition, during a complete decade, it is necessary to return to the West Indies, where the XX was now stationed, and to glance at the political state of St. Domingo.

The island was at this time a French possession. Owing to the unwise and vexatious laws enacted by the Government at Paris, the relationship between the white population—chiefly planters—and the negroes and mulattoes, was strained and embittered. As soon as the Republic was established in France, the National Assembly entered into the dispute, and showed practical sympathy with the natives by supplying them with leaders, men, and money. On August 21st, 1791, there was a general rising and massacre<sup>1</sup> (the result of a preconcerted plan) of the white population of the city of Cape François, the capital of St. Domingo. During this year the planters of St. Domingo petitioned the English Cabinet to take the island under British protection, asserting that it was the

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii, page 124.

general wish and desire of the white population that the Government should do so. These overtures were renewed in 1793; and, as the National Assembly had declared war against England, the Government favourably entertained the request of the colonists.<sup>1</sup> Instructions were accordingly despatched to Major-General Williamson, commanding at Jamaica, to send a sufficient force from that island to St. Domingo, to occupy and retain all places that might be surrendered, until reinforcements should arrive from England. From a miscalculation of the difficulties and strength of the enemy, General Williamson sent from Jamaica only eight hundred and seventy men fit for duty; this small contingent was composed of the 13th Regiment, seven companies of the 49th Regiment, and a detachment of artillery. An attack was made on Tiburon on October 4th, but it failed; the English were compelled to retreat, with the loss of forty men.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent to the reverse at Tiburon an epidemic of yellow fever, of peculiar virulence, raged in St. Domingo, and carried off half the effective force.<sup>3</sup> These unfortunate events left General Williamson no alternative but to withdraw the troops, or send reinforcements from Jamaica. He decided on the latter course, and at

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the West Indies*, in five volumes, by Bryan Edwards. Published 1801. Vol. iii, page 155.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii, page 159.

<sup>3</sup> The effort to hold St. Domingo, and the operations in the West Indies, nearly ruined the army. The mortality was appalling. In 1794 the deaths in the West Indies were 18,596. In the two succeeding years 40,639 men were invalided and discharged from the West Indies.



once sent the Royals, XX, and remaining companies of the 49th Regiment, amounting, in all, to about eight hundred men. These regiments reached St. Domingo about the end of October, 1793.<sup>1</sup>

The garrison in Jamaica was now reduced to less than four hundred men, and the British force in St. Domingo was far out-numbered by the enemy.

The French Republican Commissioners had brought with them from France six thousand chosen French troops. There were, previous to the arrival of the Commissioners, nine thousand men enrolled in the French and Colonial Militia: this militia included the free people of colour. In addition to these there were six thousand negroes, raised by the Commissioners, making a total of 21,000 effective men opposed to 1,200 British soldiers,<sup>2</sup> and a force of colonists, whose strength cannot be traced, but not numbering more than a few hundred. It was decided to make a second attack upon Tiburon, and the XX, together with the 13th Regiment, Marines, and British Legion, embarked at Jeremie—N.W. of the island—on January 31st, 1794, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke, and anchored off Tiburon on the evening of February 1st. The whole disembarked at daybreak on the 3rd.

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii., p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii, pages 151-155.

The enemy opposed the landing and fought bravely, but were repulsed and forced to retire.<sup>1</sup>

The following is an extract from the despatch of Major-General Williamson, dated February 9th, 1794: "At the capture of Cape Tiburon, the business was spirited and well done; it secures the passage and, with Cape Nichola Mole, commands that fine extensive bay. It also drove the brigands as far back as Aux Cayes—sixty miles." Of the enemy, fifty were killed and one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. The XX, one sergeant and four privates wounded.<sup>2</sup>

Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke determined to attack the post of L'Acul, about six miles from Leogane, at the extremity of the plain of the same name. The troops marched about four o'clock in the morning of February 19th, and the attack commenced at four p.m. on February 20th. The place was carried at the point of the bayonet, under a sharp and destructive fire from the hill on which the fort stood. Had the detachment (two hundred) of Colonial troops, which had been sent on the 18th by sea, been landed, the retreat of the enemy would have been cut off, and not a man of the enemy would have escaped. In this brilliant little affair the flank companies of the XX were engaged; Lieutenant Tinlin, of the Grenadier company, and ten men were wounded.<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant Tinlin was

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<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, March 15th, 1794.

<sup>2</sup> *London Gazette*, March 15th, 1794.

<sup>3</sup> *London Gazette*, April 17th, 1794.

wounded by an explosion as he entered the gates of the fort : Lieutenant Caulfield, 62nd Regiment, who was with him, was also wounded, and, after lingering for some time, died of the injuries received. The French officer, finding that he could no longer hold the place, attempted to blow it up.<sup>1</sup>

The next enterprise of this gallant little army had a less favourable termination ; it was directed against a strong post and settlement at a place called Bompard, about eight miles from Cape Saint Nicolas, inhabited by a hardy race of German colonists.<sup>2</sup> A detachment of two hundred men was selected for this service—one division was commanded by Major and Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Markham, XX, and the other by Major Spencer. The particulars of the attack and subsequent retreat of this small force are not forthcoming. All that we know is that they were repulsed by the enemy, with a loss of forty men, who had the advantage of defending a naturally strong position with superior numbers. The enemy bore testimony to the great gallantry of our men.

The mortality among the British troops in St. Domingo in this year was appalling. They fell like autumn leaves. In two months, forty officers and six hundred men died from yellow fever.<sup>3</sup> On May 19th, 1794, the 22nd, 23rd, and 41st Regi-

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii., pages 163-4.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii., pages 164-6.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii., page 174.

ments arrived at St. Domingo from England. This was the first reinforcement since the arrival of the XX, and after eight months had elapsed. On March 26th, 1795, Lieutenant-Colonel David Markham, the officer in command of the regiment, was shot through the heart whilst leading an attack on an outpost of the position held by the enemy, who was at this time laying siege to Fort Bizotton.<sup>1</sup> This fort stood on a hill, and commanded the town and harbour of Port au Prince. The Colonel fell as the party was rapidly advancing to the charge. The detachment under the direction of Captain Honourable Colville, 13th Regiment, pushed on, captured the outpost, colours, five pieces of cannon, destroyed the stores, and killed some hundreds of the enemy on the spot.

Of this engagement, Bryan Edwards says, page 181, vol. iii. :—"But the victory was dearly obtained by the loss of so enterprising and accomplished a leader." At page 239 he states, "I cannot deny myself the melancholy satisfaction of preserving in this work the following honourable tribute to the memory of this amiable officer, which was given out in general orders after his death by the Commander-in-Chief:—

"Headquarters, March 28th, 1795.

"Brigadier-General Horneck begs the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the detachment which on the 26th instant proceeded

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii, pages 180-181.

under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Markham on a party of observation, to receive his very sincere thanks for their gallant behaviour at the attack on the enemy's advanced post, taking their colours and cannon, and destroying their stores. At the same time, he cannot sufficiently express his feelings on the late afflicting loss that has been sustained in Lieutenant-Colonel Markham, who, equally excellent and meritorious as an officer and a man, lived universally respected and beloved, and died leaving a bright example of military, social, and private virtue.' " <sup>1</sup>

There does not appear to have been any fighting of importance after this engagement.

All that remained of the XX after four years of war and disease in St. Domingo, was six officers and seventy non-commissioned officers and men.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel D. Markham was promoted into the XX as Major, and on the retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Lind, who had held the command since January, 1776, Major Markham was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel (March 29th, 1794). He was the son of William, Archbishop of York. A tradition has prevailed in the Markham family that, after his death at Fort Bizotton, only one of his hands was recovered. From the manner in which hostilities were conducted by the enemy, this is not surprising. Death was known to be preferable to falling alive into the hands of a ruthless foe. At Fort Les Casges, Lieutenant Baskerville, rather than be taken a prisoner by the rebel leader, Rigaud, shot himself. Sir Thomas Lawrence painted a portrait of Markham when a Major in the XX, about 1793. A copy of this portrait, by the Autotype Company, was published in No. III. of the *Annual*. The XX is quite distinct on the buttons.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the names of the officers who fell victims to the climate of St. Domingo :—Major Charles Boyd \* ; Captains W. Farquhar, T. Story, R. Dobson, and J. Fenton ; Captain-Lieutenants J. Eccles and R. Bateman ; Lieutenants P. B. Ravencroft, E. Blennerhasset, Stewart, and Dalton ; Ensigns G. Bloomer and E. W. Thorpe ; Adjutants A. L. Wynyard and W. Smyth.

\* In his will, dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, January 15th, 1791. Major

These few representatives of the corps left St. Domingo for England in March, 1796 ; arrived at Plymouth, where they were disembarked, and proceeded by march route to Exeter, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes Champagné.

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Boyd bequeathed a five-guinea bit (Charles II., 1679), as a small token of remembrance, to A. Lilly Wynyard, Lieutenant XX Regiment. Both died in St. Domingo, and the latter was the son of General W. Wynyard, who served in the 3rd Guards, was Adjutant-General to the Forces, and Colonel of the XX. The Wynyards are a very remarkable military family. A panel in the Guards' Chapel, Wellington Barracks, records the names of nine who served in the Guards alone. They are cousins to the Battyses, that famous family of Indian soldiers.



## CHAPTER XVII.

1796—1799.

Change of stations—Recruiting—Volunteers from the Militia—Distinguished officers join the XX—Formation of two Battalions—Embarkation for Holland—Arrival at the Helder—Battle of Krabben-dam—The XX could not be beaten—Remember “Minden”—Thanked by Sir R. Abercromby—Casualties—Advance against Hoorn—A night march—The First battle of Egmont-op-Zee—The Second battle—Return to England.

THE XX marched from Exeter to Lichfield in November, 1796. An innovation of dress took place in this year. Short coats or tunics were for the first time adopted. During the month of March, 1797, the regiment moved to Liverpool, where it was stationed until June 2nd, 1798, thence it proceeded to Manchester, and, after a short stay in that city, proceeded by march route to Preston. Recruiting was more successful at Preston than at any of the towns in which the corps had previously been quartered : three hundred recruits joined the colours.

An expedition was at this time being prepared for service in Holland, and the XX was selected to form part of it, and accordingly left Preston on July 22nd, 1799, for Canterbury, where it was joined by one thousand eight hundred volunteers from the militia battalions of the counties of York, Lancaster, Stafford, Derby, Chester, Devon,



Cornwall, and Cambridge. These were the men who composed the old fighting XX—splendid soldiers, who won honours and distinction for their corps in the campaigns in Holland, Egypt, Calabria, Spain, and Portugal. At this period there also came to the XX, distinguished officers whose names will ever have a high and honoured place in the annals of the regiment : foremost among them stand the names of Lieutenant-Colonel G. Smyth, P. Bainbrigge, and R. Ross. From Canterbury the regiment marched to Barham Downs, and on August 4th, 1799, it was formed into two battalions ; Lieutenant-Colonel George Smyth was appointed to command the first, and Lieutenant-Colonel David Clephane the second. Nothing more clearly shows the superiority of the discipline of the corps, or the ability and zeal of its officers, than the ease with which the organisation of the masses of the recruits—about two thousand—into two battalions was accomplished. Officers and men were of different corps—were strangers to each other ; their uniforms were different, the only outward mark showing that they belonged to the XX was the breastplate. The facings, the militia badges on the cap and on the pack, remained ; but this tended more to confusion than otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the regiments swollen by volunteers from militia battalions, General Bunbury says : " If only three months had been gained for them to know something of their officers and sergeants, and the ways of the regiments into which they had entered, the men would probably have done their duty well ; but such was not the case, and one cannot be surprised that, with the exception of the XX and 40th Regiments, the suddenly-created battalions proved unfit to meet a brave and

After a brief stay at Barham Downs camp, they marched on the morning of August 25th, to Deal, where they embarked. The regiment was all on board by eleven in the morning, and sailed by three in the afternoon—no drunkenness, no absentees, and no confusion.<sup>1</sup> The two battalions of the XX (each 774 strong) and the 63rd regiment formed the 6th brigade (Major-General, the Earl of Cavan) in the division commanded by Major-General Don. Of the embarkation at Deal, Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens, in his *Reminiscences of My Military Life*, says: "The division consisted of about four (?) thousand men, and everything was so well arranged, the boats being all ready for us on our arrival on the beach, that from the time the division stepped into the boats, it took only twenty minutes before all were on board." At about four o'clock in the afternoon of August 28th, both battalions of the XX disembarked under the guns of the "Helder," and had to wade through the water, carrying the ammunition on the top of their knapsacks; in this way some of it was destroyed, and

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skilful enemy."—Page 39, *Narrative of the Great War with France from 1799 to 1810*, by Lieutenant-General Sir H. Bunbury, K.C.B.

NOTE.—Sir H. Bunbury was aide-de-camp to H.R.H. the Duke of York in the North Holland Campaign, was at the head of the Quartermaster-General's department in the Mediterranean under three successive commanders, and was Under Secretary of State for War from 1810 to 1816. During the Peninsular War, Sir Henry was sent on several occasions to advise the Duke of Wellington as to the wishes and intentions of the British Government. He had, therefore, peculiarly good opportunities of forming a correct opinion.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-General P. Bainbrigge—Quartermaster-General's department—and Captain Hollinsworth.

a few stand of arms lost. One company—one hundred men—under the command of Captain George Paddon, Lieutenants Steevens and Robinson, were sent to garrison Texel Island, near the mouth of the Scheldt. As soon as the disembarkation was completed, the XX bivouacked on the sandhills about four miles to the south of Helder town. It was a cold, rainy night, and the whole division was without baggage, food, or wood.

About September 4th, Colonel Smyth was ordered by General Abercromby to take a dyke. The Colonel's orders were brief: "March straight in, and if you see anything, don't fire, but push at them with the bayonet." They went in but found no enemy. A picquet commanded by Lieutenant Colborne secured a French officer, from whom some valuable information was drawn. Lieutenant Colborne was placed in command of the outposts on the high road to Alkmaar. These he entrenched. While the picquets were marking the entrenchments, he overheard one of his men say, "Well, I'll stand as long as the officer stands." They were, it must be remembered, only soldiers of ten days' service. At early dawn the French attacked the post, but were repulsed. Two men of Colborne's party were killed and some wounded. This was the baptism of fire of this distinguished officer, and he was highly commended by Colonel Smyth for "having first caused the trench to be thrown up in a good position, and for having defeated the enemy very

gallantly.”<sup>1</sup> An auspicious beginning to a brilliant career. The XX occupied a position in advance of the whole army, and their picquets were frequently engaged.

At daybreak on September 10th, the French and Dutch made a combined attack on the British position. They made a feint on the left and right, but their real effort was directed against the centre. This was held by the 1st battalion, the 2nd being in support. The enemy came on in three large columns, with their riflemen in front, who promptly spread themselves all round the British. They pressed the attack with so much determination that at one time it was feared that they would force their way into the entrenchments, but Colonel Smyth seeing the danger, stood upon the parapet (supported by some of his men, as the blood was flowing from a wound in his leg) and shouted in tones that could be heard above the din of battle, “Twentieth, remember Minden.”<sup>2</sup> The Grenadier company had at this time defended an outpost for three hours, till their ammunition was expended, and finding that the artillery which had to defend a bridge on their right had retired, they had no alternative but to fall back. The enemy crossed this bridge, and then it was that the 1st Battalion supported by the 2nd, charged, and with General Abercromby at their head, drove the enemy back. Following this, both battalions charged the enemy

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<sup>1</sup> Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton.

<sup>2</sup> *Western Antiquary*.

twice, as they endeavoured to establish themselves in a village. Leaving their killed and wounded in heaps, the French and Dutch retreated. At the Einigenburg suburb, the 2nd Battalion had, alone, repulsed an attack.

By September 4th, Sir Ralph Abercromby had placed his army in order of battle; the most important point of his line of defence was from Krabbendam to Petten, which was entrusted to the two brigades of Guards. "At the salient angle of the British position stood the village of Krabbendam, and in this village were posted both battalions of the XX."<sup>1</sup> Sir John Moore's brigade held the line from Krabbendam to St. Martin's. This village was held by the 40th Regiment. Six battalions were in the centre, to render support wherever necessary.

Of this fight, Sir Henry Bunbury<sup>2</sup> says:—"Nor was the attack on Krabbendam less marked by valour; the Republicans, led by Dumonceau, assailed the village of Krabbendam with headlong fury; they penetrated into the village, and, in spite of the destructive fire from the houses, they fought hand to hand with our troops. But the XX was a regiment that never would be beaten; and their commander, Colonel George Smyth,<sup>3</sup> was an officer of first-rate ability. To him Sir Ralph Aber-

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<sup>1</sup> *Narratives of the Great War*, pp. 6 and 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Narratives of the Great War*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The following footnote appears on page 8:—"This excellent officer died, unfortunately for our service, just at the beginning of the Spanish War, before he had attained the rank of a general officer."

cromby had specially assigned the defence of this important post, and worthily he discharged his trust. Although three-fourths of the two battalions of the XX were volunteers recently received from the militia, they had been already imbued with the spirit of the old regiment, and so gallantly did they maintain their post that there was no need of moving up the brigades in reserve to their support."

Sir Ralph Abercromby complimented and thanked the corps on the field for their services, and published the following army order, which he also embodied in his despatch, dated Schagen Brug, September 11th, 1799:—"The two battalions of the XX Regiment, posted at Krabendam and the Zuype Sluys, did credit to the high reputation which the regiment has always borne. Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth, of that corps, who had particular charge of the post, received a severe wound in his leg, which will deprive us for a time of his services."<sup>1</sup>

The casualties of the regiment were as follows : 1st Battalion : Lieutenant-Colonel George Smyth, Major Robert Ross, Captain Henry Powlett, and Lieutenant John Colborne, wounded ; Lieutenants Charles Des Vœux<sup>2</sup> and Christopher Hamilton<sup>3</sup> (both lost a leg) ; Lieutenant and Adjutant Samuel South, wounded ; of the rank and file fourteen

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<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, September 16th, 1799.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Charles Des Vœux, Bart.

<sup>3</sup> Commanded the 97th Regiment for many years, and died Major-General.



were killed, twenty-five wounded, and fourteen missing; total, fifty-three. 2nd Battalion: Captain-Lieutenant L. Ferdinand Adams, one sergeant, and thirty-four rank and file, wounded; four rank and file killed, and four missing; total, forty-three.<sup>1</sup>

The command of the 1st Battalion devolved upon Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Bainbrigge, the senior Major.

Additional troops having arrived from England, followed by 17,000 Russians,<sup>2</sup> and H.R.H. the Duke of York having assumed the command of the army, Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his division, advanced on the town of Hoorn. The XX formed a brigade in this division.

At six o'clock in the evening of September 18th they began their march under a heavy rain, which continued all night. The darkness was intense, and the route lay over a narrow paved causeway, flanked on both sides by low stripes of deep mud, which were confined by broad ditches filled to the brim. After a fourteen-mile march, under these conditions, they arrived at the gates of Hoorn between three and four in the morning, and entered without opposition.

Our men had been under arms twelve hours, were dead tired, and unable to resume their march before mid-day, when, owing to the reverses

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<sup>1</sup> The casualties of the British were, Sir John Moore, eleven officers, and 150 men wounded; thirty-seven men killed.

<sup>2</sup> Our men were astonished to see private soldiers in the Russian Division wearing medals. The medal for Waterloo was the first that was issued to private soldiers in the British Army.



suffered by the Russians at Bergen on the previous day, the division was recalled to its former position on the Zuype.<sup>1</sup>

On October 2nd the army moved forward in three bodies ; Sir Ralph Abercromby's division formed the right column, and, as it was to march along the beach, was unable to start until after six a.m., the hour of departure being dependent on the state of the tide. This march was a series of skirmishes : every yard of the advance was contested, and on two occasions there were serious conflicts. At length the soldiers, wearied from fighting and marching over soft sea sand, arrived in front of a ridge of sandhills and within two miles of Egmont-op-Zee. Of the part taken by the corps in this, the first battle of Egmont-op-Zee, there is no record as distinguished from the other regiments of the 6th brigade, in which it served, which was commanded by Major-General Lord Cavan. Captain Powlett<sup>2</sup> and Ensign Milnes were wounded, and fifty men were killed or wounded. The enemy retired, and on the following day (October 3rd) the XX advanced beyond Egmont. On Sunday, October 6th, the advanced posts of the allies were pushed forward to secure some villages in front and to force the detachments of the enemy to fall back on their main body. The French opposed our advance at all

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<sup>1</sup> *Narratives of the Great War*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Colborne, who had been wounded in the head on September 10th, left the hospital and walked twenty miles so as to be present at this action. He succeeded Captain Powlett in command of the Light Company.

points, but particularly at Baacum, where the Russians received a serious check. Sir R. Abercromby advanced to their assistance, and a general action ensued.

Both battalions marched from their quarters about two o'clock, and advanced in line. Some of the companies charged into the enemy's line, and were mixed with a French corps at the close of the evening, indeed Captain Chalmers had for a short time a French General in his hands.<sup>1</sup> It was a confused battle, fought without intention or object. Heavy rain fell throughout the day, and this, together with the difficult country, made it impossible for anyone to direct what has been well called an offhand engagement, contested with great obstinacy, and ended only by the darkness.<sup>2</sup> This was the second battle of Egmont-op-Zee.

Of the 1st Battalion, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Bainbrigge, commanding, Brevet Major Campbell, Ensigns Favell and McCurry (colours) were killed ; Captain Newman, Lieutenants Maxwell-Close, and Ensign Humphreys wounded. The 2nd Battalion had Captains Maister, Wallace, and Torrens, Lieutenants Steevens<sup>3</sup> and Ensign Drewry wounded. The loss in non-commissioned officers and soldiers amounted to one hundred and seventy-one killed,

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Field-Marshal Lord Seaton.

<sup>2</sup> *The Great War with France*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant C. Steevens was severely wounded and taken prisoner.

wounded, and missing. Captain Manley Power,<sup>1</sup> succeeded to the command of the 1st Battalion on the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Bainbrigge, his promotion as Major being dated October 7th, 1799. In this short and fruitless campaign of five weeks' duration, the casualties of the XX were twenty-two officers, inclusive of two commanding officers and two field officers, and three hundred and seventeen non-commissioned officers and men.<sup>2</sup> The campaign in North Holland was brought to a close by the embarkation of the British army at the Helder on October 31st, 1799; the two battalions of the XX were disembarked at different ports in the South of England, and were subsequently concentrated at Ashford, in Kent.

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<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir Manley Power, K.C.B., died in 1826. His father, Bolton Power, served in the XX from 1757 to 1785, was present at Minden, and in all the actions of the "Seven Years' War," also the campaign in America under Sir John Burgoyne.

<sup>2</sup> See Lord Seaton's letter, Appendix.

NOTE,—The regiment received its share of £21,830 15s. 9d., the value of four frigates and two hulks captured by the army in Holland. It was issued as bounty to the troops, each soldier receiving six shillings and eight pence (6s. 8d.).—*London Gazette*.







## CHAPTER XVIII.

1800—1801.

Stationed at Cork—Expedition to Belle Isle—Minorca—The flank battalion—Service in Egypt—Capture of the batteries—A night attack—General Coote's despatch—Constructing batteries—Forts des Bains and Triangular—Ophthalmia—Gold medals awarded to the officers.

IN the months of January and February, 1800, the regiment (both battalions) proceeded to Ireland, and was stationed at Cork, where it was joined by volunteers from several battalions of Irish Militia. On June 7th the XX embarked with a small expedition against Belle Isle; the ships reached the island on June 18th, and the two battalions were immediately transferred from the transports to two seventy-four gun ships, the first battalion to the "Canada" and the second battalion to the "Captain." The attack was abandoned at the last moment; the second battalion was landed, and encamped on the Isle of Houat for a few days.

The second battalion having re-embarked, the transports sailed on June 24th for Minorca, where they arrived early in July, but both battalions voluntarily remained on board ship in the hope that they might join some expedition. The first battalion was quartered in George Town, and the second at Fort George, which commanded

the entrance of the harbour leading to Fort Mahon. The light companies of the regiment formed part of a flank battalion, which was commanded by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel R. Ross,<sup>1</sup> and occupied quarters at Alayor. The XX missed being included in the army which assembled at Malta, under Major-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, in December, 1800, and had reached Marmoria Bay by January 1st, 1801; consequently the regiment did not take part in the celebrated landing at Aboukir Bay on April 8th, 1800.

At this time (1801) the XX was chiefly composed of men who had volunteered from the militia for the limited period of five years, and for service in Europe only; but, being anxious to join the army in Egypt, the officers, particularly Lieutenant-Colonels Smyth and Ross, exerted themselves to induce the men to offer their services, which they cheerfully and willingly did, notwithstanding the great mortality among the troops then serving in Egypt. The two battalions embarked on June 24th, and arrived in Aboukir Bay on July 17th; they disembarked the following morning, encamped on the east side of Alexandria, and were formed in brigade with the "Ancient Irish Fencibles." On August 17th, the 30th and 50th Regiments attacked and captured several batteries, the XX and 92nd Regiments being held in support.

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<sup>1</sup> Promoted Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, January 1st, 1801, for service in Holland.



The regiment embarked on August 22nd in boats, on the inundations, and joined the division under the command of Major-General Sir Eyre Coote, on the west side of Alexandria. On the night of August 25th, the first battalion captured an outpost occupied by the enemy. Sir Henry Bunbury thus describes this affair: "Near as Coote's position was to Fort des Bains, there was still an outpost held by the enemy which was likely to embarrass our operations against that work. Early on the night of August 25th the first battalion of the XX, assisted by a small detachment of the 26th Light Dragoons, under that admirable officer, Colonel George Smyth, marched silently forth with unloaded muskets; they turned the left of the French redoubt, and, rushing in with the bayonet, they captured or killed the whole of its defenders (about one hundred men). This night attack was executed in absolute silence, without a word or the firing of a shot, and was considered a brilliant feat of arms. It was a complete surprise, and, irritated by the success of this exploit, a strong column of the enemy, issuing from the city under cover of a cannonade, attempted to drive the XX from the post they had so gallantly mastered; but, after an hour's fighting, the attack was repelled with ease, and the French retired behind Fort des Bains."<sup>1</sup>

The following is a copy of the General's despatch:—

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<sup>1</sup> *Narratives of the Great War*, p. 152.

“Camp, West of Alexandria,

“August 26th, 1801.

“SIR,—Being anxious to push my pickets upon the left, as far as possible towards the enemy's advanced work, the redoubt des Bains, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth, with the first battalion of the XX, assisted with a small detachment of the 26th Light Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Kelly, to attack and drive in the French outposts, upon the right of their position. He was to be supported by a battalion of infantry, disposed for that purpose upon the sandhills.

“Soon after dark last night, Lieut.-Colonel Smyth commenced the attack by turning the left of the enemy's pickets and scouring the hill as he advanced. The cool and spirited conduct of that officer, and the corps under his command, as also the detachment 26th Light Dragoons, is well deserving of praise. *Not a man attempted to load, and the whole was executed by the bayonet.* The loss of the enemy in this affair amounted to upwards of one hundred men killed, wounded, and taken; of the latter I enclose the return. This service was performed, on our side, with the loss of only three men slightly wounded, and has placed me in a situation to erect a battery within about six hundred yards of the redoubt des Bains.

“The enemy, however, extremely exasperated at our success, made several attempts to regain the ground he had lost. With this view he kept up a very heavy fire of cannon and musketry for

about an hour, when, finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he retired, leaving us in peaceful possession of the advantage we had gained in the early part of the night.

“ I have, etc., etc.,

“(Signed) EYRE COOTE, Major-General,”

During the night of the 27th and morning of the 28th August, both battalions were employed in the arduous and fatiguing duty of constructing gun and mortar batteries. By the most persevering exertions on the part of the officers and men, the batteries were completed and ready to open fire on forts des Bains and Triangular by daybreak on the 28th, but at the solicitation of the French General (Ménou), hostilities were suspended by an armistice of three days, agreed to by General Hutchinson.

Articles of capitulation were signed on August 30th, by which the French surrendered the town and forts of Alexandria, and the army, as prisoners of war, laid down their arms and returned to France. Egypt was thus delivered from the power of Napoleon. To the XX was awarded the distinguished honour of taking possession of the two principal forts—des Bains and Triangular—in recognition of its gallant conduct in the last and final attack, which resulted in the French General's appeal for the armistice, and subsequent capitulation.

The Grenadier companies of both battalions entered into formal occupation of the forts on

September 2nd, and on the following day rejoined the regiment in camp at Pompey's Pillar. Whilst serving in Egypt the regiment suffered from fever, dysentery, and ophthalmia. Lieutenant H. W. Walker and many men died from fever; the majority of the officers and men were afflicted with ophthalmia. Captain Arthur Lloyd subsequently lost his sight from the effects of this disease.<sup>1</sup>

For its services in Egypt the regiment received the thanks of Parliament and the Royal authority to bear on its colours the word "Egypt" with the Sphinx, as memorials of its gallant conduct in this campaign. The officers of the regiment were permitted to accept gold medals from the Grand Vizier.<sup>2</sup>

In this year the cocked hats, which had been worn in the army except by the Grenadier and light infantry companies, were abolished, and a cap substituted.

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of My Military Life*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Cannon's Historical Records*, p. 32.



## CHAPTER XIX.

1801—1808.

Arrival at Malta—Bounties offered—Reduction of the establishment by one battalion—Presentation to Colonel George Smyth—New colours—Efficiency of the Corps—Departure from Malta—The flank Companies—Disembarkation at Castelmare—Night march—Severe winter—Sail for Messina—Detention on board ship—Causing a diversion—Battle of Maida—Death of Captain McLean—Arrival of the XX—Colonel Ross—Captain Colborne—March to Maida—French Prisoners—Scylla Castle—Messina—Unhealthy quarters—Wreck of the "Windermere"—Gibraltar—Disembarkation at Portsmouth.

THE regiment embarked at Alexandria, arrived at Malta on December 6th, and disembarked on the 9th; the 1st Battalion was quartered at Vittoriosa, and the 2nd at Isola. In Egypt the regiment suffered chiefly from ophthalmia; and after arrival at Malta no less than eighty were sent to England, all irretrievably blind.<sup>1</sup> A bounty of five pounds (£5) was offered by the Government to induce the men to extend their period of service in the army; the majority of the men of the XX continued their connection with the corps, an inconsiderable number re-enlisted for other regiments, and, on the other hand, the XX was joined by volunteers from regiments then serving in Malta. Chevrons for non-commissioned officers were introduced into the army in 1802.

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<sup>1</sup> Colborne.

On the declaration of the Peace of Amiens, March 27th, 1802, the establishment of the regiment was reduced to one battalion; the men of the 2nd Battalion joined the 1st at Vittoriosa; the officers who were in excess of the new establishment were placed on half-pay, but were reinstated as vacancies occurred. In consequence of this reduction, Lieutenant-Colonel George Smyth was transferred to the 82nd Regiment on November 14th, 1802. Previous to his departure from Malta he was presented with a sword by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross and the officers of the corps, accompanied by an address expressing the high estimation in which he was held, and regret that his service with the XX was terminated.

In 1803, field officers ceased to hold or command companies. Additional captains were promoted in this year. In the XX this augmentation provided for captains who would otherwise have been transferred to the unemployed list. It also increased the efficiency of the companies.

On May 3rd, 1803, the regiment marched to Valetta, the capital of the island. Lieutenant-Colonel Ross presented the regiment with a set of new colours on his assuming the command in September of this year, and the XX remained in Malta until October, 1805. During this period there is nothing of importance to chronicle beyond the ordinary routine duties of a regiment in garrison, and the high state of military efficiency to which the corps was brought by the exertions of

the commanding officer (Lieutenant-Colonel Ross), of which (says Colonel Steevens in 1839) even at this distance of time there is ample testimony. Colonel Steevens, in his "Reminiscences," pp. 38 and 39, tells us very plainly how the efficiency was maintained. He says: "We had plenty of occupation, as far as drilling went, during our stay in Malta; for our Colonel (Ross) used frequently to take the XX out into the country at five in the morning, and not bring us home till one p.m. I can vouch for the truth of it, and so can many others. We were repeatedly out for *eight hours* during the hot weather; frequently crossing the country, scouring the fields over the stone walls, the whole regiment acting as light infantry; and *the best* of the *joke* was, that *no other corps in the island was similarly indulged.*"<sup>1</sup> And that this hard work, properly conducted, promoted good feeling and *esprit de corps* we know on the testimony of Field-Marshal Lord Seaton. In October, 1804, he wrote: "We have lost too many of our men in the hot weather owing to their sacrificing so frequently to Bacchus. We are now about 800 bayonets, in the highest order. I really think there is no regiment in the service that has so much *esprit de corps* as the XX." From the same source we get a glimpse at the

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<sup>1</sup> Wolfe, in his time, appears to have held and acted upon the same idea as guided Ross. The former, when in command of the XX, in writing to a friend, expresses "regret that the men get tired after drilling for five hours," and he "considered that they had not the stamina of their forefathers."



social side of the regiment. "On one occasion Colborne formed one of a party who, at a masquerade at the Palace, were to represent Silenus and his crew. We took the Colonel's donkey, and, after we had stolen him, the difficulty was to get him upstairs. However, we carried him up. On entering the room, the first person we saw was the Colonel. He came up, looking very hard at the donkey, and said, 'Why, I do believe that is my donkey!'"

Whilst at Malta, a detachment of the regiment, under the command of Captain James Bent,<sup>1</sup> was stationed on the island of Gozo. The regiment embarked at Valetta on October 31st, 1805, and sailed (escaped from Malta) on November 3rd for Naples with the expeditionary force, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir James Craig. Previous to the embarkation, the flank companies of all the regiments detailed for service with the expedition were formed into two battalions; the Grenadier battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. W. O'Callaghan, 39th Regiment, and the light companies into a light infantry battalion, the command of which was assigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Kempt, 81st Regiment. The light company of the XX was commanded by Captain Murdoch McLean. The corps composing Brigadier-General Acland's brigade were the XX, 35th, and 61st. Captain W. Wallace, with fifty volun-

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<sup>1</sup> Killed at the head of the regiment at the battle of Orthes, February 27th, 1814.

teers from the Norfolk Militia, arrived at Malta on October 27th, and joined the battalion on board the transports: this reinforcement brought the strength of the corps to seven hundred and fourteen all ranks.<sup>1</sup> The transports, with General Craig's force, fell in with the Russian armament off Sicily, and the armies of both countries landed without opposition in the neighbourhood of Naples. The XX disembarked at Castelamare, in the Bay of Naples, on November 22nd, 1805, and at night marched eight miles to Nocera, on the main road. The roads were wet and heavy, and, in consequence, the march was unpleasant and fatiguing. To add to the general discomfort, on reaching Nocera, quarters for the men were found with difficulty and after a tiresome delay. The officers were hospitably entertained by monks in a convent, the men occupying the corridors. The King of Naples reviewed the regiment on the sands at Torre-del-Nunciate, when His Majesty expressed his admiration at the appearance and discipline of the corps. On December 11th the regiment vacated its quarters at Nocera, and marched along the coast, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, and on the high road through Capua, in the direction of Gaeta, finally going into cantonments in the small village of Carano, near Sessa, where the British headquarters had been established. The winter was remarkably severe, and our men suffered

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<sup>1</sup> On August 1st, 1806, the strength was six hundred and sixteen, showing a loss in nine months of ninety-eight men.

much privation. It is a curious fact that more than one Russian was frozen to death in the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian troops were withdrawn from Naples about January 10th, 1806, and the British left for Castelamare on the 11th. The XX embarked on the 16th, sailed on the 19th, and anchored in the harbour of Messina on the 22nd. The incapacity of our Generals was lamentable. The Commander-in-Chief suffered from dropsy, and of five Generals only one could speak the language of the country. Owing to political differences with the Court of Naples, Sir James Craig's division was not allowed to land until February 17th, when the XX was quartered in the vicinity of Messina; subsequently it was stationed along the coast as far as the lighthouse, which was opposite the Scylla rock. The headquarters were in Messina, while detachments, under Major Walker and Captain Weldon, garrisoned two forts immediately above the town. In March a detachment, under Major Walker, Captain Colborne, and Lieutenant Wade, was at St. Agatha. Sir James Craig, the commander of the English division, was obliged, from ill-health, to resign his command, and was succeeded by Major-General Stuart, who decided, towards the latter end of June, to strike a sudden blow at the French division under General Reynier, then occupying Calabria. The troops embarked without delay,

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<sup>1</sup> Bunbury.



"I must insist on your taking two copies of a print designed by a particular friend of mine, Captain Pierrepont, of the 20th Regiment. I have not seen it in its finished state, but I believe Loutherbouurg has improved it and made it a very good picture. The subject, the battle of Maida."

*Extract from a letter, dated 7th November, 1807, from Captain John Colborne to his sister.*



Woodbury Graure.

## BATTLE OF MAIDA.

By LOUTHERBOURG.

Many of the details of this picture were supplied to the artist by Captain Pierrepont, N.Y. Regiment, who was present at the battle, and was himself an artist of considerable ability. This reproduction was presented for this edition by the late Major R. B. Hunt.





and the transports anchored in the Bay of St. Euphemia on the evening of June 30th. The troops disembarked the following morning. With the twofold object of creating a diversion in favour of the main body of the army during the disembarkation at St. Euphemia, and of deceiving the French commander as to the strength of the British division, the XX was employed in cruising off the coast of Calabria, between Reggio and Cape Spartivento, in large open boats.<sup>1</sup>

On July 3rd the feluccas returned to Messina harbour; the regiment was transferred to the transports "Britannia" and "Symmetry," and sailed the same day for St. Euphemia. The ships anchored in the bay early on the morning of the 4th, and were at once hailed by Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, who informed Colonel Ross that it was the General's intention to attack the French that morning,

With commendable and characteristic promptitude Colonel Ross ordered the disembarkation of the regiment.<sup>2</sup> In his *Reminiscences*, Colonel Steevens says: "Without waiting for orders, our gallant chief, Colonel Ross, gave directions for the regiment to disembark soon after daylight. We cheerfully obeyed the order, and landed forth-

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<sup>1</sup> These boats were called feluccas. and could, on an emergency, hold one hundred men, but on this occasion there were not more than one officer and twenty men in each boat.

<sup>2</sup> Exclusive of the Light and Grenadier companies: these companies formed part of the battalions so called, and had disembarked with the army.

with, after filling our haversacks and canteens, for officers as well as men carried three days' provisions, their blankets, and a change of linen. In landing, the boats had to go through a great deal of surf, and the men spoilt all their cartridges ; but having some casks of ammunition in the boats, we soon replenished their pouches, and immediately hurried across the country, through woods and marshes, and reached our little army in the very nick of time."

The French army, commanded by General Reyrier, occupied a wood above the plain of Maida. Confident in his own powers and the strength of his army, he left his position in the wood, and advanced to the plain.

The British division had moved forward to the attack in an échelon of brigades, the Light Battalion, under Colonel Kempt, taking the lead, and on the right of this battalion was posted the light company of the XX, commanded by Captain Murdoch McLean. As soon as they reached the left bank of the Lamato, which was steep and woody, Colonel Kempt sent the Corsican Rangers across the stream to search the thickets and to secure his flank from ambushes, at the same time sending out the light company of the XX as a support. The instant the Corsicans entered the wood they were met by a sharp fire, and a desperate charge on the part of about two hundred French ; this caused them to be driven in so much confusion and disorder upon the light company

of the XX that the company with great difficulty maintained its ground. Captain McLean was at this moment shot through the heart; and, "if the men had not been of sterling stuff, the company must have been broken."<sup>1</sup>

For some moments the fighting was very sharp. Some of the best regiments of the enemy charged with great intrepidity; nor were our men less forward to meet them. Reserving our fire till we came within a short distance, the astonished invincibles were mowed down by a well-directed fire, and the right of our line passed through their left. Few of them escaped, and their dead and wounded marked the original line. When the French retreated, the light company, who had conspicuously distinguished themselves,<sup>2</sup> resumed its position on the right of the line, under the command of Lieutenant W. H. Russell, the subaltern of the company. While the skirmishing was going on, both armies, in much the same formation, were approaching each other. The advance of the French infantry was covered by

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<sup>1</sup> *Narratives of the Great War with France* (p. 243), by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury, K.C.B.

NOTE.—Captain Murdoch McLean was the son of G. McLean, Esquire, of Scalle Castle, in the Island of Mull, and was a brother of Matorga McLean. Captain McLean was a popular officer. There is a small memorial of his name and manner of death in the mess of the 1st Battalion, in the form of a silver snuff-box; it bears the following inscription, which is surmounted by a laurel wreath and the XX:—

MURDOCH McLEAN  
QUI IN PROELIO CECIDIT  
4 JULII, 1806.

<sup>2</sup> Colborne.

their cavalry, who made repeated charges upon our columns, but soon cleared away to allow their infantry to close with ours. The leading French brigade (1st Legère, three battalions, supported by a regiment of Poles), led by General Compère, advanced in line upon Kempt's battalion. Both sides opened fire at a short distance, but that of the English was so deadly that General Compère ordered his brigade to charge. As they drew near, with disordered ranks, Kempt gave the word, and the light battalion sprang forward to meet them. General Bunbury thus describes this phase of the fight: "But the two lines were not parallel; the light companies of the XX and 35th encountered the extreme left of the French, but the rest of the brigade broke before their bayonets crossed. They had, however, come too close to escape; it was a headlong rout; General Compère fell badly wounded within our ranks, and his brigade was utterly dispersed with fearful slaughter, which was continued over a long extent of plain, and the lower falls of the hill of Maida.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile, in other portions of the field, both sides fought without gaining any material advan-

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<sup>1</sup> *Narratives of the Great War*, p. 245. Sergeant Murphy, who belonged to No. 8 or the Light Company at Maida, thus describes this charge: "Just as we were going to charge, we were ordered to take off our great coats, which were worn *en bandolier*. To do this the front rank turned about to help the rear rank, and this caused the French to believe that we had turned our backs to flee. On came the French at the *pas de charge*. The light company fronted and went for them, with their bayonets crossed. It was a bloody run."

tage. After their failure on the British right, the French tried to crush our left. The English position at this juncture, and the advent of the XX, is thus told by Sir Henry Bunbury<sup>1</sup> (p. 246): "The heat was tremendous, and the result of the day seemed far from certain, when, as I was riding along the rear of Cole's brigade, anxiously watching the French sharpshooters, who were stealing farther and farther round his left, and were backed by their horsemen, one of my assistants came galloping to me from the beach with the welcome tidings that the XX had landed, and was coming through the brushwood at double quick time. I rode instantly to meet them, and explained to Ross how matters stood. He caught the spirit of the affair in an instant, pressed onward, drove the swarm of sharpshooters before him; gave the French cavalry such a volley as sent them off in confusion to the rear; and, passing beyond the left of Cole's brigade, wheeled the XX to their right, and opened a shattering fire on the enemy's battalions. The effect was decisive; Reynier was completely taken by surprise at the apparition of the fresh assailant; he made but a short and feeble effort to maintain his ground." The French cavalry twice charged the XX in line, but, perceiving that they stood firm, did not press the charge home. Colonel Ross, who was standing in front of the colours, shouted, "You

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<sup>1</sup> At Maida, Sir H. Bunbury was Adjutant-General in the absence of Brigadier Campbell.

have the advantage, soldiers ; the sun is in their eyes. Steady ! ”<sup>1</sup> By mid-day the battle was ended, and, except by the light battalion, no attempt was made to follow the enemy ; the XX returned to the beach for food and repose. In his despatch, General Stuart bore testimony to the important part played by Colonel Ross and the XX at Maida ; but Sir H. Bunbury is more precise in the bestowal of praise. He says ; “ The most brilliant parts on this little stage were acted by Colonels Kempt and Ross ; to them the glory of the fight at Maida is chiefly due.” The loss of the XX in this decisive victory was slight ; this satisfactory and infrequent feature is attributable to the skilful manner in which the corps was handled by Colonel Ross, and also perhaps, to the fact that it came upon the enemy unexpectedly. The casualties were chiefly in the flank companies, and did not exceed one officer and from thirty to thirty-five men killed.<sup>2</sup> The numbers of the French killed, wounded, and taken prisoners were enormous. More than five hundred of their bodies were buried by the English on the field of Maida.

Maida<sup>3</sup> was thus added to the list of honours borne on the colours of the corps ; Lieutenant-

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<sup>1</sup> Diary of Colonel T. F. Wade, then a subaltern in the XX. He carried one of the colours at Maida.

<sup>2</sup> Colborne.

<sup>3</sup> The plain of Maida was covered with myrtle bushes, and for many years the anniversary of the battle was celebrated in the regiment, all ranks wearing a sprig of myrtle in their caps.



Colonel Ross was awarded a gold medal, and appointed aide-de-camp to the King, with the rank of colonel in the army.

At daybreak on the 5th, the XX marched from the beach to the little town of Maida, situate on a high hill above the plain. Colonel Kempt, with his light battalion, had advanced some distance along the hills, and detached Captain Colborne<sup>1</sup> and the light company of the XX to follow the enemy and ascertain their intentions. Colborne pressed forward, naturally thinking that our army was following him, and he overtook the rear of the French column, which was marching in very great disorder, but, discovering at the end of the second day that he was entirely without support, he was obliged to fall back on his battalion.<sup>2</sup> This is Colborne's own account of his pursuit of the French army with the light company of the XX, :—

“It was after the battle of Maida, and we were going on towards a town called Borgia, and were not at all certain where the French were. I commanded the advanced guard—about 87

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<sup>1</sup> Captain Colborne succeeded to the command of the light company after the battle of Maida.

<sup>2</sup> On the evening of July 4th, the Admiral entertained the General (Sir J. Stuart) on board the flagship. Sir H. Bunbury, who was present, states, “that they had no discussion of ulterior objects, nor concerted any plans, but talked of Turkish ladies and Greek girls, and the Admiral closed the evening by instructing the General in the art of wreathing shawls, and putting on the turban after the fashion of the most refined Turkish ladies.”

NOTE.—In Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. ix., for the XX is printed 26th Regiment.



soldiers and two dragoons (these were my cavalry). I had only one officer with me (probably Lieutenant W. H. Russell, XX). The column was some way behind us, and my guide was getting frightened, so I said: 'Well, I can't help it; if you don't show us the way, or get another guide, you must be hanged.' So he went with two or three soldiers, and tried to knock up somebody in a cottage. At last a man was found, who said he would lead us if we would let him go when we were within a hundred yards of the town. When we came within sight of the town, he took care to put us in mind of our engagement, and we let him go. Then I had not the least idea whether the French were there or not. Just at the entrance of the town I saw a man, so I said: 'There, catch him! Make haste!' We ran after him and tried to catch him, but he ran into his cottage, and the same thing happened with two or three others, until we actually found ourselves half-way up the town. At last we got a man, who happened to be the 'Capo Genti,' the head of the town; so I said: 'Dore sono i Francesi?' 'Oh, they passed through five or six hours ago, and are encamped a few miles further on.' Then all the people, when they found we were English, came flocking round us, and I began to take lodgings for us all, when a message came from our column that it had retreated. Hearing rockets and fireworks, they thought it must be the enemy, when really it was the people in the town firing

for joy of our arrival. This retreat of our column was a great pity. The French retired still further next day. So, after marching all day and all night, at four o'clock we had to march back again. I had a bad fever afterwards. Great numbers had fever owing to the carelessness of the Quartermaster-General's department, who took up our quarters close to a marsh. About sixteen in the company died of it, and the doctors did not know how to treat it, and bled for it."

On the morning of July 8th, the XX marched to Pizzo, *en route* for Sicily. At Pizzo the regiment was employed in searching French prisoners who had plundered the military treasury chest, and a considerable sum was recovered.

The march was resumed during the night of the 9th; a halt was made at Monteleone, and thence the march was continued through Sumnara and Palma to Scylla Castle.

At mid-day on the 11th the force entered Bagnara, where it remained till the evening. Under cover of the darkness, the march was continued along the sea coast to the Fuimare. The castle of Scylla was one mile distant. Two sides were facing the sea, and the only approach to the third was by a long, narrow ridge. The column, commanded by Colonel Oswald, made the ascent during the night, and by daybreak on July 12th were bivouacked in front of the castle.

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NOTE.—James Grant, in *The Adventures of an Aide-de-Camp*, refers to the XX in this campaign.

Siege operations were at once commenced ; a road was made, and batteries erected. The besiegers began firing on July 14th, and as the number of guns were insufficient, additional batteries were made, armed with guns from Messina. By the 22nd, a breach was made in the left bastion. Colonel Oswald sent in a flag of truce, and offered to accept the surrender of the garrison, and allow them to return to France. These terms were accepted, and on the following day a capitulation was signed, and the French troops were at once embarked and sent to France. Leaving a detachment at Scylla, under Major Walker, to form part of the garrison, the remainder of the XX, some days after the surrender, marched to Bagnara, embarked in boats of various descriptions, and sailed for Reggio.<sup>1</sup>

On August 1st the regiment crossed the Straits of Messina, and occupied its former cantonments along the coast from the town of Messina to the Faro Light. In November a company of Sicilians was organised and added to the regiment. The XX marched from Messina to Melazzo, in relief of the 35th Regiment, during the month of November, and was joined on the line of march by the flank companies ; they had been detached on the first formation of the expedition, at Malta, in October, 1805.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Journals of Sieges*, by Major-General Sir J. P. Jones, vol. ii., p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Colborne tells a very good story of a practical joke played at this time in Sicily. The XX invited the 52nd to dinner. Poor Diggle, of the 52nd, was seated between two funny young officers of the XX, who per-

Melazzo proved an unhealthy station ; at one time, during the summer of 1807, half the officers and about three hundred men were ill from fever. To explain the subsequent movements of the corps, it is necessary to give a brief account of one incident of the foreign policy pursued by the English Government at this time. The Government was anxious to further the emigration to the Brazils of the royal family of Portugal ; for this purpose they kept a naval force, under Sir Sydney Smith, off Lisbon. Suddenly a Russian squadron, under Admiral Siniavin, took refuge in the Tagus. It was supposed, as Russia and England were in a state of hostility, that the presence of the Russian ships would intimidate the Prince Regent, and prevent his leaving Portugal. Sir Charles Cotton was, therefore, sent with instructions to force the Tagus and to attack Admiral Siniavin. To ensure success, General Spencer with five thousand, and Sir John Moore with ten thousand men (the latter being withdrawn from Sicily), were ordered to Lisbon to aid the enterprise ; but, before the instructions were writ-

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suaded him, when they got to the toasts, that it was the custom of the regiment always to propose a toast, " Confusion to all General Officers." So up he got, and, with Colonel Ross seated at the head of the table, said : " President, I have a toast to propose—D——n all General Officers ! " " The officers of the 52nd at that time were a most proper set, all very anxious to please Sir John Moore, and the Colonel was so scandalised at this behaviour that, at a meeting of the officers, they almost agreed to turn Diggle out of the regiment. One of the officers wrote to me to tell me so. However, Colonel Ross understood how the whole thing had happened, and begged the Colonel of the 52nd not to take any notice of it, as it was all a joke."

ten, the Prince was on his voyage to the Brazils, and Marshal Junot ruled in Lisbon.

The XX proceeded from Melazzo to Messina in October, 1807, and there joined the expeditionary force under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore.<sup>1</sup> On October 28th, the transports with the division on board sailed from Messina. In clearing the harbour, the ship "Windermere," with the headquarters of the XX on board, ran aground. Three companies were immediately sent ashore to lighten the ship, and at high tide (12 midnight) she was got off and passed safely out of the harbour, but only to strike on the rocks near the Faro Lighthouse at three o'clock on the following morning and become a total wreck. The regiment landed without loss of life or accident, and encamped until the afternoon of the 30th. The companies that had been sent ashore in Messina harbour were taken on board the transport ship "Ajax." This vessel called at St. Agatha and embarked the headquarters, sailed again at 9 p.m., and came up with the convoy the following evening, October 31st. The transport fleet reached Gibraltar on December 2nd. The XX was transferred from the "Ajax" to the "Atlas" transport on December 13th, and, together with the rest of Sir John Moore's force, sailed for England on the 18th, arriving at Spithead on December 31st, 1807.

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<sup>1</sup> The following regiments composed the force : 1st and 3rd battalions of Guards, XX, 35th, 52nd, 61st, 78th Regiments, and De Watteville's corps.

In compliance with the quarantine regulations, the regiment was detained on board ship for three days. The disembarkation took place at night on January 7th, 1808, and, in keeping with the iniquitous custom of the times, the men were scattered in all the ale-houses in Portsea—the first night in England after a tour of service abroad, including two campaigns. On parading next morning to march for Brabourne Lees, in Kent, there was scarcely a sober man, and the misery of Colonel Ross, the commanding officer, is described by one of his subalterns as pitiable to see.<sup>1</sup>

Brabourne Lees was reached on January 13th. The regiment being considerably below its establishment, recruiting parties were sent to Cambridge, Exeter, and Ipswich. The Sicilian company, which had been raised and added to the regiment whilst serving in Sicily, was ordered to the Isle of Wight, *en route* to join the Sicilian Regiment at Malta, but some of the Sicilians were, at their own request, allowed to continue their service in the XX. On May 26th and 27th, the regiment marched in two divisions to Colchester, where it arrived on June 2nd and 3rd, and on the 23rd marched from Colchester to Ipswich, preparatory to embarkation for Portugal.

Clubs and queues were abolished at this time. It was directed that the hair was to be cut close

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<sup>1</sup> Wade's *Diary*.

to the neck, and that no powder was to be worn on duty.

Some of the methods adopted for recruiting the army during the stress of the struggle with the armies of Napoleon raised by conscription are instructive.

In 1803, the bounty of an infantry recruit, in clothes and money, was £7 12s. 6d., but the following year it reached no less a figure than £16 16s. od., which is probably the highest price paid for the raw article. The innovation of allowing boys under sixteen years of age to enlist, was introduced in the year 1804. The number was restricted to ten per company or one hundred per battalion. The long service, or twenty-one years' system was adopted in 1806. It was divided into three periods of seven years, and at the end of each the soldier had the right to a free discharge. By a clause in the Mutiny Act of 1808, soldiers were permitted to enlist for life, and those who did so, received five guineas more than those who elected to join under a limited service engagement.





## CHAPTER XX.

1808—1809.

Sir John Moore and the Cabinet—Statement by Major Colborne—Embarkation at Harwich—Portugal—Battle of Vimiero—March to the frontier of Portugal—Fort Lalippe—March into Spain—The Regiment joins Sir John Moore's Army—The Retreat on Coruña—Sir John Moore compliments the Reserve—The Battle—Arrival in England—Mortality among the survivors.

THE Twentieth was now about to take part in one of the most arduous and trying expeditions upon which it was engaged—that which ended in the battle of Coruña. Major Colborne enjoyed the full confidence of his chief, Sir John Moore, to whom he was Military Secretary; and while on board ship, off St. Helen's, he wrote a very clear exposition of the treatment meted out by intriguing politicians to that noble-minded man, whose faithful and disinterested services to his King and country they were unable to appreciate. His acknowledged merit made them suspicious, and they placed the army in the hands of incompetent Generals, rather than give the supreme command to the distinguished soldier who vindicated his character as an administrator and his generalship by advancing into Spain and drawing the Emperor Napoleon and his legions from Madrid; and finally, by their overthrow at Coruña, under Soult. Even by his death, which

gave to the name of John Moore a halo little short of immortality, he was to place the stigma of shame on those who tried to sully his fair fame.

Major Colborne's letter, written towards the end of July, 1808, is the evidence of a principal witness, and there could be no better introduction to this chapter than these excerpts :—

“ Sir John Moore, from the intrigues and dirty cabals of Ministers, is not thought worthy to be entrusted with the chief command, nor even to be second in command. Sir Hew Dalrymple is to command the army when united ; Sir H. Burrard is second in command. The Ministry have treated Sir John in an infamous manner, and have tried to vex him in order that he may not go out with us, but he has conducted himself in a temperate and dignified manner, telling them that he thought his former services entitled him to some respect ; that he had raised himself by his own exertions to the rank he held without mixing in any party or intrigues ; that he would go cheerfully on the service he was ordered, and would exert himself with the same zeal and activity in the service of his country and King as he had always done when employed. The Cabinet sent him a menace that, ‘ had not the military arrangements been so far advanced that they could not change them without detriment to the service, they would relieve him from *the unpleasant* situation in which he must be placed at present.’ Sir John answered that he had



FIELD-MARSHAL LORD SEATON.

*Presented by Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Deane.*



already fully expressed his sentiments to Lord Castlereagh, and that it gave him great pleasure that it was the intention of the Ministry to lay the whole before His Majesty, as he had the firmest reliance in trusting his honour, conduct, and reputation in His Majesty's hands. This cuts short the correspondence; they are afraid to recall him, for he has documents that would make them tremble, were he to produce them. The fact is, no man has more merit, and none more enemies, even among the Generals of high rank. They have not the sense to hold their tongues, but you may be assured Sir John Moore is the only soldier good for anything amongst the whole set, with very few exceptions. Sir John, immediately he knew his situation, offered to get me in the Quartermaster-General's Department or the Adjutant-General's, but I thought it best to refuse both and join my regiment, which is on the passage to Portugal or Spain. The former would have been a more comfortable and easy situation, and a much more profitable one as to pay, but the latter more honourable, I think, particularly as I belong to such a regiment as the Twentieth. Sir John was pleased with my choice, and hoped I should be a Lieutenant-Colonel the sooner for it. Sir H. Burrard sent for me to-day, and begged me to carry on the business until Sir H. Dalrymple took the command. I told him my object was to join my regiment, and there could not be much busi-

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ness until we arrived, but, if it would facilitate business, I should be happy to remain in the situation until I fell in with the regiment.”<sup>1</sup>

The Twentieth had preceded Major Colborne, having embarked at Harwich on July 18th, 1808, and arrived at the mouth of the Tagus on August 18th. On the night of the 20th, seven companies, under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, landed in the Bay of Maceira, near Peniché, and lay on the sands till daybreak, when they marched to Vimiero, and formed part of the 8th Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Acland, in the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley. Owing to a scarcity of boats, the headquarters were not disembarked. The British held a semi-circular position on some rugged hills. The centre was thrown forward ; while the two flanks inclined toward the sea. It was Marshal Junot's intention to begin the attack at daybreak on August 21st, but his march was delayed.

At eight o'clock on the morning of August 21st, the French cavalry were seen on the heights to the south of the village of Vimiero, and at ten their columns began the attack. The 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 8th Brigades were immediately directed to cross the valley behind the village, and take position on the heights, which were occupied by our picquets.

As these brigades reached the ground, the

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton*, by W. G. Moore Smith, M.A.

second and third were disposed into two lines facing to the left; the 4th and 8th Brigades were to have furnished a third line, but before the latter had reached the summit, observing a French brigade advancing against the centre, they attacked it in the flank and forced it back on the main body.

The enemy was repulsed at all points, and the battle won by noon. But for the interference of Sir Harry Burrard, who forbade any pursuit, Sir A. Wellesley would without difficulty have cut off the French retreat by advancing his right wing, consisting of 7,000 men, who had not fired a shot. The 8th Brigade suffered very little, the casualties of the XX being as follows:—Lieutenant Brook killed, Lieutenant Hogg and five men wounded, and one man missing.

In this action the light company, under Captain C. Steevens, was detached, and, together with two companies of the 95th (Rifle Brigade), was employed to clear some of the enemy's riflemen out of a wood in front of our centre.

The headquarters of the regiment, under Colonel Ross, landed on the afternoon of the 21st. The regiment marched from Vimiero on August 23rd, and bivouacked near the village of Amilla; thence it marched to Torres Vedras on August 31st, and on the following days to Mafra and Cintra, and encamped at Becarinha, near to the latter place. When wood could be obtained, the troops were hutted, but otherwise they



bivouacked. On the conclusion of the Convention of Cintra, the XX was ordered to Elvas; it crossed the Tagus to Aldea Gallega, and thence marched through the the towns of Conya, Montemor, Nuevo, Vende de Duc, Aryolas, Estremos, Alberoca, and Villa Viciosa. In all these towns the regiment was received by the people with acclamations of gratitude and joy. At Estremos the inhabitants presented it with two fine bullocks, and to both officers and men offered refreshments of bread, wine, and fruit. The bullocks, their horns decorated with ribbons, were driven out of the town at the head of the regiment. The XX remained a few days at Villa Viciosa, and during its stay the Lady Abbess and nuns of the convent extended their hospitality to the officers. Colonel Ross, with the regiment, having been appointed by Sir Hew Dalrymple to receive Fort Lalippe from the French, and to escort the garrison to Lisbon under the terms of the convention, sent a flag of truce to the commandant, Colonel Girod.<sup>1</sup>

Major Colborne had previously made several journeys before he successfully arranged for the surrender of Fort Lalippe. On September 25th, the regiment moved from Villa Viciosa to Elvas,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Steevens writes, "Here, as at Villa Viciosa, we used to chat with the nuns through the iron grating, and one of our officers (Lieutenant W—), a handsome young fellow, fell in love with one of them, a very pretty girl; the affection seemed reciprocal, and, I believe, they were both equally sorry when the regiment marched away."

and occupied the town barracks, sending two companies to Fort St. Lucia, and a detachment to take possession of the outer works of Fort Lalippe the same evening. The French evacuated the fortress at daybreak on the 26th, and were escorted by a detachment of the XX as far as Estremos, where they were handed over to the 2nd Queen's. The regiment occupied Fort Lalippe, and remained there until October 9th, when it returned to Elvas, and was quartered in the convent of Saint Paulo.

On October 28th, the regiment marched from Elvas, and passing through Campo Mayor, Albuquerque, Alcedo, Brosas, Alcantara, Morilezza, *en route* to Ciudad Rodrigo, arrived at the latter place on November 10th, having covered one hundred and sixty miles in the march.

The regiment left Ciudad Rodrigo on November 15th, reached Salamanca on the 18th, and was quartered in the convent of Saint Thomas, with five companies of the 95th and 1st Battalion 52nd Regiments. Sir John Moore's army (of which the regiment now formed a part) was concentrated at Salamanca on November 23rd, but want of supplies and transport obliged the Commander to order the march of his army in small and successive divisions.<sup>1</sup>

On December 2nd, the XX was employed in placing the village of Castilianos da Morisco in a state of defence, so that it would be in a position

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., p. 177.

to repel the enemy's cavalry, who were in the vicinity in numerous bodies, making raids on surrounding villages.

The XX marched from Salamanca on the 11th, and arrived at Toro on December 12th; advanced from Toro on the 16th, and on succeeding days halted at Tedra, Villapando, Valderas, Santierbo, and Graghal, the latter place being the advanced post of the army. From Salamanca to Graghal the distance was one hundred and thirty miles. The regiment halted at Graghal on the 22nd and 23rd, having outmarched their supplies. On the evening of the latter day they were kept under arms, and left their quarters about nine o'clock on a bitterly cold night. It was Sir John Moore's intention to make a night attack, and fall on Marshal Soult's division of the French army at Saldaña at daybreak on the 24th. The XX had not proceeded far when it was ordered back to its quarters. The Commander-in-Chief had gained his object; he had drawn Napoleon from Madrid, and the Emperor had now put an army of 50,000 men in motion from the capital to encompass the ruin of the British. This intelligence reached Sir John as his army was moving towards Carrion on the night of December 23rd.<sup>1</sup>

The retreat on Coruña commenced on the following day (24th); but the XX with the reserve,<sup>2</sup> under the personal direction of the Com-

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., pp. 190, 191.

<sup>2</sup> The regiments forming the reserve were the XX, 28th, 52nd, 91st, and 95th.

mander-in-Chief, marched on the 25th (Christmas Day).<sup>1</sup> A heavy storm, followed by torrents of rain, with a piercing wind, was the beginning of a retreat, unparalleled for sufferings and hardships in the annals of the British army. The reserve fell back by the road of Mayorga, and crossed the Esla by the bridge of Castro Gonzalo on the morning of the 26th.<sup>2</sup> During this period of the retreat, the XX formed the rear-guard of the reserve. Being preceded by the other divisions of the army, the reserve fared very badly for provisions, etc. On the 27th, the XX reached the town of Benevente. At daybreak on the 29th, the town was surprised by the enemy's cavalry : the regiment turned out to support our cavalry under Lord Paget, who defeated the enemy and took their leader, General Lefebre Desnouettes, prisoner.<sup>3</sup> A blanket was supplied to each officer and soldier at Benevente. The regiment marched from this place on the night of the 29th, arrived at Astorga on December 31st, and was quartered in a convent outside the town. Some Spanish fugitive troops had entered the town previous to the arrival of the British, and caused a tumult and confusion that increased the difficulties of

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<sup>1</sup> "On this same day we lost one of our men in a melancholy way, and a fine young man he was ; he was in the Grenadier company. He was eating a piece of roll or new bread, while walking along and talking to his comrades on the march, when part of it stuck in his throat and choked him."—*Reminiscences of My Military Life*, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> A favourite officer of Napoleon, to whom he bequeathed a legacy of 100,000 francs.

maintaining discipline and of obtaining supplies during the remainder of the retreat. On December 31st, the regiment marched to Cambarros, a village six miles from Astorga.

Previous to marching, Colonel Ross addressed each company, and explained to the men that upon their own perseverance, patience, and keeping their ranks depended their own safety, and perhaps that of the army. During the remainder of the retreat the officers, by the Colonel's orders, had to remain at all times with their companies, whether in billets, quarters, or in the bivouac. During the night of the 31st, the cavalry fell back upon Cambarros, and the reserve had in consequence to march to Bambibre. This was a very distressing night march of eight miles, carried out in a heavy snowstorm and severe frost. At Bambibre our men witnessed the most disgusting scenes of drunkenness among the stragglers of the preceding divisions.

The horrors of the line of march were now appalling, and touched the hearts of the most callous. One officer relates :<sup>1</sup> "It was dreadful to see the numbers of dead lying by the roadside, consisting of men, and sometimes women and children ; once or twice I saw a little infant lying close to its mother, both dead ; also horses, asses, mules, and oxen, some frozen to death, having been overcome by fatigue ; others were shot. During the retreat a little boy was found

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of My Military Life*, pp. 68-73.

whose parents were supposed to have perished. I think he was picked up by Colonel Ross, for I recollect perfectly well seeing him with a child in front of his saddle, but whether or not this little boy was the same I cannot exactly say."<sup>2</sup>

Sir John Moore, with the reserve (except part of the XX) and cavalry, marched to Calcabellos. A portion of the regiment, under Colonel Ross, was left at Bembibre to cover the town and protect the stragglers, about a thousand of whom were in the town when the reserve left on the morning of January 2nd. The French cavalry were kept in check for some time by Colonel Ross's rear-guard; but neither threats, nor the near approach of the enemy's cavalry, would induce the majority of the stragglers to leave the town. As the French cavalry was now appearing in great force, Colonel Ross ordered the destruction of the surplus arms, ammunition, stores, and baggage, and left the stragglers to their fate. The XX had hardly quitted the town when the cavalry entered it, charging through the long line of stragglers, who were so insensible from liquor as neither to make any resistance, nor get out of the way of the horsemen as they cut to the right and left. The pursuit was continued until checked by the XX and 15th Hussars, directed by Major-General Paget. The regiment remained the night at Calcabellos, and was here joined by

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<sup>1</sup> The boy was adopted by the armourer of the regiment, but only lived for a few years.



the Grenadier company of the Buffs, which had been sent from Portugal in charge of specie for Sir John Moore's army. This company returned to England with the XX. The regiment was present at the repulse of the French cavalry at Calcabellos on January 3rd, 1809, when General Colbert, the French commander, was killed. The regiment took no part in this affair, but Colonel Ross, and all those who witnessed the death of Colbert, expressed their sorrow at the fall of so gallant a soldier.

A man, belonging to one of the regiments, who had left the ranks, and had been taken prisoner by the French, managed to escape, and joined the reserve at Calcabellos. Although severely wounded, he was able to walk, his wounds being chiefly in the face and arms.

The French cavalry had cut him about terribly ; he was, indeed, a ghastly object to look upon, and Colonel Ross showed him to his men as a warning to them of what they might expect if they left the ranks and lagged behind. The Commander-in-Chief withdrew the reserve to Villa Franca, on the evening of the 3rd : the XX remaining in rear whilst stores and magazines were being destroyed. When this work was completed, the march was continued to Villa Franca, where its progress was much impeded by the number of stragglers, and by the excesses of which the other divisions had been guilty.



Of the engagement of January 4th, the following is Major Colborne's account<sup>1</sup>:—

“The enemy's cavalry appeared in great force on the heights above Cacabelos about two o'clock. Sir J. Moore was in Villa Franca. I rode out to the advanced picquet of our cavalry. I found the reserve under arms. The 20th and 52nd Regiments were posted on the right and left of the road leading to Villa Franca, behind the bridge of Cacabelos. The 95th were posted in front of the village with the river behind them, under a hill, so that the approach of the enemy could not be discovered by them. Many staff officers of cavalry were on the road behind the cavalry picquet. The enemy appeared to have about a squadron on the road, and their vedettes were advanced close to ours. In this situation we remained about an hour. Suddenly I observed our picquet retiring rapidly, and all the staff and cavalry officers with them. We all met on the bridge together. The passage became blocked up by the 95th pressing towards the same point. This halt was for a very short space, but the enemy's cavalry were approaching at a brisk gallop behind us. Some of the 95th got into the houses, and, I believe, these were taken. I rode up the hill towards Villa Franca. The 20th and 52nd had been withdrawn by order of Sir J. Moore to the summit of the hill. Advanced picquets

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<sup>1</sup> Life of John Colborne, Field Marshal Lord Seaton, by W. G. Moore Smith, M.A.

were stationed below, and fired on the French cavalry that passed the bridge. The enemy retired immediately.

“On my arrival on our position I found Sir J. Moore there with two battalions and two guns. The guns had fired as the enemy passed the bridge. The 95th were posted in vineyards to the right of the road, nearer to the river than the other battalions. We all took out our glasses and observed large masses of cavalry deploying on the height in front of Cacabelos. I think I said, or some officer said, that there were twenty squadrons. We had a dispute whether there were infantry or not. About half an hour before dark the enemy made a show of passing the river in front of the 95th, and did push on their skirmishers. The 95th commenced a tremendous fire, which I thought was unnecessary, which continued till after dark. Sir J. Moore ordered the 78th and all that were in Villa Franca to march. He desired me to go to Ross and to desire that the 20th might remain on the road in front of Villa Franca till about ten o'clock. I found all quiet, and no appearance of the enemy. Sir John Moore marched about 9.30, and arrived at Herrerias early in the morning, where we halted a few hours. It was from this place that Sir J. Moore wrote to Baird, Hope and Fraser and Broderick, that the army would halt at Lugo and assemble there. These despatches were forwarded by Captain Napier to Baird and sent on by him by a dragoon, who lost them.”

Passing through Villa Franca, the regiment halted at Herrerias about midnight, having marched forty miles during the preceding twelve hours. After a few hours' rest at Herrerias, the march was resumed: Noagles was reached in the afternoon of the 5th, after a long and weary tramp of thirty-six miles through snow and rain, over almost impassable roads, and with an enterprising enemy in their rear.<sup>1</sup> During this march, the enemy's light cavalry attempted to advance upon the flanks of the reserve, but were attacked and driven back by the light company of the XX, under Captain C. Steevens.

At ten p.m. the reserve retired to Lugo, where they arrived on the morning of the 6th, after a harassing march of eighteen miles, and the XX was quartered in the convent. Between the 3rd and 6th, the regiment had been three times engaged with the enemy. At daybreak on the 7th, the XX took up its position in front of Lugo. The army was drawn up in order of battle, as the Commander-in-Chief wished to engage the French in a decisive action.

The French attacked the British centre and left, but were repulsed with a loss of between three and four hundred men. The army was in line of battle all day on the 8th, but retired during the night. A terrible storm of wind and rain, mixed with sleet, commenced as the regiments broke up from their positions; the road marks

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., p. 198.

were destroyed, and the guides of the different divisions lost the true direction. One division only gained the main road, the other two were still in the vicinity of Lugo at daybreak on the 9th.<sup>1</sup> The XX, together with the other regiments of the reserve, covered the retreat of the army, and held a position near Betanzos during the night of the 9th. The sufferings endured by the regiment up to this date were terrible : both officers and men were in a state of starvation ; many were without shoes, and all were in rags.

On the 11th they arrived at El Burgo, and were quartered in the villages on the St. Jago road. Of the regiments forming the reserve, Napier says : " For twelve days these hardy soldiers had covered the retreat, during which time they had traversed eighty miles of road in two marches, passed several nights under arms in the snow of the mountains, were seven times engaged with the enemy, and they now assembled at the outposts, having fewer men missing from the ranks (including those who had fallen in battle) than any other division in the army."<sup>2</sup>

Sir John Moore accompanied the reserve during the retreat ; his cheerful and courteous manner sustained the drooping spirits of the suffering soldiers ; he praised and held up their superior discipline during the retreat, as an example to the rest of the army, and warmly ap-

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i., p. 202.

plauded their gallant conduct in action. To its honour it must be recorded that the XX lost fewer men during the retreat than any other regiment serving in the expedition. From the confidence the Commander-in-Chief had in its experienced and distinguished commander,<sup>1</sup> and from the tried character of the corps, it was selected for some of the most dangerous and arduous services during the whole retreat.

At El Burgo the regiment was relieved from all duty, on account of the arduous duties it had performed. Captain Steevens relates that he was in command of an outpost which was visited by Sir John Moore, who, finding that the regiment was still on duty, ordered it to be at once relieved, as he wished it to get as much rest as possible. A few miles from the town, four thousand barrels of gunpowder were stored in a magazine; to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy they were exploded on the 13th. There was a terrific crash, the ground trembled, the houses were shaken, and the vibration was felt by the vessels in the harbour. The next act of destruction was of a very painful character. It was found impossible to embark the horses; they were all shot or stabbed, and then thrown from the edge of an overhanging rock into the sea.

At two p.m. on January 16th, a general movement was observed in the French lines. At three

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<sup>2</sup> In addition to his great professional ability, Colonel Ross was one of the few officers who could speak French and Spanish.

o'clock, Marshal Soult commenced the battle with a heavy cannonade, and at the same time three strong columns, led by a cloud of skirmishers, poured down upon the British : they carried the village of Evina, and drove in our picquets. The Commander-in-Chief ordered General Paget with the reserve, with the exception of one regiment which was stationed at Airis, to turn the enemy's left and threaten their great battery. The XX, with the other regiments of the reserve, descended into the valley, attacked and quickly forced the enemy to retire. They continued the pursuit to a great distance, dispersing everything that came before them, until the enemy, perceiving that their left flank was exposed, drew it entirely back. As the evening closed (six p.m.), the British were in advance of their original positions, and the French were retiring in confusion at all points. After the battle the XX bivouacked, without fires, and at midnight marched through Coruña, and embarked on board the transports. On the voyage home a storm scattered the fleet, and the ships put into the nearest ports. The regiment disembarked at Falmouth, Plymouth, and Portsmouth between January 21st and 31st, 1809, and marched to Colchester, where the different parties were assembled by February 20th.

The casualties of the XX during the retreat were : Died or killed, two sergeants, one drummer, fourteen rank and file ; missing, three sergeants, one drummer, and seventy-five rank and file. Of

the missing, two sergeants and sixteen rank and file rejoined in England, and of the seventeen deaths, seven occurred in England.<sup>1</sup>

On landing in England, the men of the regiment were in a deplorable condition. Worn and haggard in appearance; clothing in rags; many without shoes;<sup>2</sup> few had their arms and accoutrements complete; and all were in a state of filth, which they neither had the power or means of avoiding. Of the survivors a large number reached England, only to become the victims of a deadly fever with which this ill-fated army was stricken, and to find an early grave in their native land.

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<sup>1</sup> These numbers were compiled from documents in the Record Office, but it is doubtful if they include the casualties at the battle of Coruña. These were never officially reported, but were computed for the whole army, by Sir John Hope, at 800.

<sup>2</sup> "During the retreat some of the officers were without shoes."—*Steevens*.





## CHAPTER XXI.

1809—1812.

Recruiting—March to Dover—Embarkation at Deal—Landing at South Beveland—Malarial Fever—Return to England—A Skeleton Battalion—Deaths—Presentation to Colonel Ross—Sail for Ireland—Kinsale—Mallow—Training for active service—Fermoy—March to Middleton—Suppression of illegal assemblies—Inspection by Lord Forbes.

THE last campaign, and the effects of disease and sickness after arrival in England, had so far reduced the strength of the regiment that it was found necessary, in order to place it in a state fit to take the field, to call for volunteers from various regiments of militia. In the month of April, 1809, eleven officers and five hundred and thirteen non-commissioned officers and men joined the regiment. Many men were also drawn to the colours of the corps by recruiting parties, which were sent to Norwich, Aldborough, and Rochester.

On July 4th and 5th, 1809, the XX marched from Colchester, *en route* to Dover, where the two divisions arrived on the 10th and 11th, and were quartered in Dover Castle.

The regiment was selected for service with the expedition which was about to proceed to Holland, and it was attached to the brigade of Major-General Graham, which formed part of the reserve commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope.

At daybreak, on July 26th, the regiment marched from Dover to Deal, and embarked on board H.M.S. "Monmouth" at nine a.m. : sailed on the morning of the 28th, and anchored off the Scheldt the same evening. With the first tide the "Monmouth" moved up the eastern branch of the Scheldt, and anchored near the Katten Dyke.

The XX landed, on August 1st, on the South Beveland, and marched to the village of Heinrichskindren. Two companies, commanded by Major C. Steevens, were sent to the village of Boesselle; they took possession of two batteries, which the French had evacuated a few days before, and then continued their march through this pestilential swamp, passing through the towns of Goes and Heytkensant, and, on August 9th, they went into cantonments at the villages of Schore and Walke, the headquarters occupying the former. About September 1st, an epidemic of malarial fever (afterwards known as Walcheren fever) raged among the troops through which one-third of the XX were sick and unfit for duty. On September 3rd, the regiment retired through Ter Goes; the invalids were sent to Katten Dyke, and were put on board ship for passage to England. On the following day the regiment crossed to Wolversdyke, an island lying between north and south Beveland, closely followed by the French.. During this expedition the XX was not engaged; on one occasion Colonel

Ross pursued some of the enemy with the light company, but did not come up with them, and was not under fire.

The regiment marched to Kningspladana, on September 6th, and embarked on board the "Sceptro" and "Ganges," seventy-four-gun ships, but was transferred on the afternoon of the same day to the "Bucephalus" and "St. Fiorenzo" frigates, headquarters being on board the first-named ship. The frigates sailed on the following day, reached Harwich on the 15th, and the regiment landed on the 16th, with orders to proceed to Colchester.

The appearance of the regiment on its return to this station was lamentable: about three hundred men, and those weak and sickly, with barely sufficient strength to walk, were all it could muster, and at this date six hundred men were in hospital at different places. It is noteworthy that of the regiments engaged no less than sixty-seven officers and four thousand men died of fever.

Within the short space of nine months the XX was twice reduced to a skeleton battalion; on the first occasion by war, pestilence, and famine, and on the second by sickness alone. Captain Robinson, Ensign Mills, and a large number of men died after the return of the corps to Colchester. Towards the end of this year (1809) Major John Murray, on behalf of the officers, presented a sword to Colonel Ross,

as a recognition of their appreciation of his high qualities as officer in command of the corps. On June 28th, 1810, the regiment marched to Harwich, and embarked on board transports, which sailed on July 5th, and arrived at the Cove of Cork on the 25th, when it disembarked and marched to Kinsale. The headquarters and four companies were accommodated in Fort Charles, and six companies in the new barracks. On November 1st, the XX was relieved at Kinsale by the 6th Regiment, and proceeded to Mallow (*via* Cork) which change of station proved very beneficial to the men who were suffering from the Walcheren fever. The regiment remained here for eighteen months, and through the indefatigable exertions of its commanding officer, Colonel Ross, it attained the highest standard of efficiency. The whole corps passed through a course of instruction in drill, and in the duties of a regiment in the field, every conceivable contingency of actual warfare being carefully and frequently rehearsed. On May 8th, 1812, the regiment marched to Fermoy, and the right wing, under Colonel Ross, proceeded from Fermoy to Middleton by a circuitous route on June 29th. The line of March lay through disaffected districts, and many illegal assemblies were suppressed *en route*. The right wing remained at Middleton, and was there joined by the left wing on September 18th, when the regiment was inspected by Major-General Lord Forbes.

## CHAPTER XXII.

1812—1814.

Embarkation for Coruña—Landed at Lisbon—*En route* to join the army—Forced marches—Battle of Vittoria—Pursuit of the enemy—Colonel Ross promoted Major-General—Combat at Roncesvalles—Captain Tovey's Company—Casualties—Soult's Despatch—The Retreat—Battle of Sauroren—Lord Wellington's Despatch—Pursuit—Skirmishes—Colonel Wauchope mortally wounded—The Light Troops—Colonel Steevens succeeds to the command—First distribution of Colour-Badges—Casualties in the Battles of the Pyrenees—Storming of St. Sebastian—Spanish attack—The Fall of St. Sebastian—Battle of Nivelle—Impassable roads—Surrender of two German regiments—Advance on Orthes—The Battle—The fight at St. Boës—General Ross Wounded—Pursuit to Bordeaux and Toulouse—Battle of Toulouse—Reviewed by Lord Wellington—Embarkation for Ireland.

ON October 12th, 1812, the regiment marched from Middleton to the Cove of Cork, and embarked; the headquarters on the "Alfred" (seventy-four-gun ship), the remainder of the corps on the troop-ships "Dover" and "Roebuck." The convoy sailed on the following day, and anchored in the harbour of Coruña on October 27th. The troops landed on the 28th, but re-embarked on the 29th, and sailed for Lisbon, where they disembarked at the arsenal on November 15th, and were quartered in some of the convents in that city. The regiment marched from Lisbon on December 15th, under Colonel Ross, *en route* to join the army commanded by Lord Wellington, halted at Leira on December 24th and 25th, and at Coimbra from December

29th to 31st. On January 12th, 1813, the XX reached St. John de Pesqueira, and went into cantonments, forming, together with the 7th and 23rd Fusiliers, Major-General Skerret's brigade in the 4th Division, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, G.C.B.<sup>1</sup> On February 27th, the regiment was in quarters at Villacova; on March 3rd it crossed the mouth of the Coa, about a league from Fozcoa, and was billeted in the town of Almendra. On May 8th the XX was reviewed by Lord Wellington near Figueira. The allied army, commanded by Wellington, was little short of 200,000, of whom 55,000 were British. In this year 25,000 volunteers joined the army from the militia, each man receiving a bounty of twelve to fourteen guineas. Tents were, for the first time during the war, supplied to the troops, but were of little real use, owing to the deficiencies or difficulties of transport.

The regiment re-crossed the Coa on May 18th, and encamped at Villacova. At daybreak on the 20th it crossed the Douro, and advanced towards Miranda, which was occupied on the 23rd. The regiment was inspected at this place by Lieutenant-General Sir T. Graham, on May 26th. On the 29th they forded the Aliste. On the 31st, the corps crossed the Esla by a pontoon bridge, and during this day had its first skirmish with the enemy. The regiment continued to advance

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<sup>1</sup> The regiment was posted to the 4th Division at the request of General Sir Lowry Cole.

by forced marches, passing through the cities of Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca, and on June 7th encamped in the town of Palencia, which the French had only left that morning. The river Ebro was crossed on June 15th, and on the 18th the town of Osma was occupied, from which the French were driven out, pursued, and overtaken at Espejo.

In addition to long and forced marches through a rough and mountainous country, the men had often to drag the guns of the artillery, at places where the roads were rendered impassable for horses by the heavy rains.

The XX was in position before Vittoria on June 20th, and at daybreak on the 21st, in a heavy drenching rain, it advanced on that town, and formed up on the left of the main road leading thereto. It subsequently crossed the Zadora by the bridge of Nanclares, in support of the guns of the division, which advanced from the the bridge in support of the 3rd Division, when the latter attacked the central point of the French position at the village of Arinez.

The 4th Division advanced on the right of the 3rd (Picton's), but its progress was slow, as the ground was rough. The battle gradually became a running fight for six miles, and the French made a last stand on a ridge a mile in front of Vittoria. Eighty guns were massed here, and, for a short time, there was cessation in the conflict. Picton's division held the front, and bore the brunt of the fight. Suddenly the 4th dashed forward, and



carried the hill on the left of the French position. The heights were at once abandoned. The loss of the XX was only three men killed and two wounded. The retiring foe was closely followed by the XX until about nine p.m., when the darkness precluded further pursuit.

The regiment had been under arms since five a.m., and during the interval of sixteen hours had had no rations<sup>1</sup> of any kind. While on the march, and towards the close of the day, they came to a field of beans. The pangs of hunger were so acute, that the men rushed into the field, tore up the beans by the roots, and devoured them voraciously. The officers thought it excusable, but the General expressed his displeasure.<sup>2</sup> The XX did not participate in the million sterling of money and other plunder which Wellington reported was in the hands of the soldiers. The battle of Vittoria was fought on ground known as the English Hills, from the advanced guard of the Black Prince's army, under Sir Wm. Felton, having been cut to pieces in March, 1367.<sup>3</sup>

On the following day (22nd) the pursuit was resumed, and the regiment bivouacked at Salvatierra. The French retreated towards Pampeluna;

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<sup>1</sup> The ration consisted of 1 lb. beef, 1 lb. biscuit, and a small allowance of rum or wine. The biscuit, rum, and reserve ammunition were carried by the mules, and the muleteers had also to drive the bullocks. They always followed in rear of the division, and often did not arrive in camp for some hours after the regiment, and occasionally did not reach it before the troops had commenced another march.

<sup>2</sup> Stevens.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Wellington*, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i.

the XX encamped within sight of that town on June 26th. After the battle of Vittoria the regiment formed part of a force with which, by a series of forced marches, Lord Wellington endeavoured to cut off the French General (Clausel) before he could enter Tudela. On July 1st the XX went into quarters in the town of Aybar, after a continuous march of six weeks, during which period it had traversed six hundred miles over rugged and zigzag flinty roads, and through long winding valleys, over difficult mountains, and through dense forests. Colonel Robert Ross<sup>1</sup> was promoted Major-General on the staff of the army (dated June 1st, 1813), and appointed to command the brigade in which the XX was serving in the Peninsula. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Wauchope succeeded to the command of the corps, consequent on the promotion of General Ross, and from July 6th to the 17th the regiment was cantoned before Pampeluna. On July 18th it was relieved by a Spanish regiment, and moved to an encampment near Tubiri; on the next day it marched to Espinal, two miles in advance of Vis-cayret, in the valley of Urroz.

The general position of affairs was this: The allies were defending a long, mountainous position of no less than thirty-three miles in extent. Wellington was at San Sebastian, and Soult, finding the allied forces dangerously scattered, with two operations in hand, made not a feint, but a determined

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<sup>1</sup> For services of General Ross, see Appendix.

attack on the allied right. This resulted in a series of combats in the passes, of which that at Roncesvalles was not the least important.

About midnight on July 24th the regiment was called to arms, and at daybreak on the 25th moved up the Mendichuri Pass. On reaching a point about half way up the Lindouz ridge, Major-General Ross halted the right wing, and led the left wing and a company of Oels Brunswickers up the heights. When they gained the summit, they suddenly came upon the enemy's skirmishers, whose fire proved troublesome to the wing. General Ross called for a company to drive them away, and without waiting for further orders, Captain George Tovey doubled his (number 6, now F) company out, and soon cleared the skirmishers from the wooded hollow in front of the wing, but when they came to the opposite side of the wood, they unexpectedly came face to face with a strong column (6th Light Infantry) of the enemy, which was in the act of mounting the ridge from the opposite side to that by which the wing had ascended. The French Commander called upon the men of the company to lay down their arms,; but Captain Tovey answered by ordering his company to charge with the bayonet. They rushed headlong into the French column, killing the Commander and two other officers and many men with the bayonet. The French were almost paralysed with astonishment at finding themselves, a regiment in column, attacked

by such a handful of men; but they soon recovered from their consternation, and Captain Tovey called aloud to his men to retire. One sergeant, one corporal, and twenty-two men of the company were killed or wounded in this affair.<sup>1</sup> The left wing retired to the base of the ridge (followed by Tovey's men), where the right, under Brevet-Major Bent, had taken up a strong position, and were ready to receive the enemy, who now made a series of desperate attacks, the officers leading and urging their men with great vehemence. But this furious bravery was of no avail; the XX stood firm and unshaken. The French were met with withering volleys, and any of them who happened to reach our ranks were bayoneted. No prisoners were taken during this day's fight. General Ross gained his object, and the post was held until the remainder of the brigade came up. The pass of Atalosti was secured, and thus it was that Marshal Soult received his first repulse in the Pyrenees. In this combat (called Roncesvalles) the XX suffered severely; the adjutant (Lieutenant F. Buist), two sergeants, two corporals, and ten privates were killed: twelve privates were missing, and two sergeants, two corporals, and ninety-eight privates were wounded. The following officers were wounded: Lieut.-Colonel

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting correspondence with regard to the action of this company took place in 1839, between Captain Tovey and an officer of the Rifle Brigade.—See Appendix.

W. Wallace<sup>1</sup> (died of his wounds on August 15th), Brevet-Major Bent, Lieutenants Champagné, Crockatt, Walker, Smith, Ensigns Thompson and Oakley.<sup>2</sup>

In his despatch, dated Linzoain, July 26th, 1813, Marshal Soult represents the French regiment as having made the bayonet charge, and the XX being nearly destroyed in consequence!

The Adjutant (Lieutenant Buist) was buried at night, with all the honour and ceremony that the time and circumstances would permit, and at midnight the regiment was ordered to retire. From want of transport, and the difficulties of a night march in a mountainous district, it was impossible to move the wounded with the regiment; they were, therefore, placed near the camp fires, a card being attached to each, with a few words written thereon, committing him to the mercy and aid of the French, who, to their honour, treated our wounded as they did their own. The fog,

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<sup>1</sup> Lieut.-Colonel Wallace joined the XX in 1795. He served with the regiment in Holland (was wounded at Egmont-op-Zee), in Egypt, in Sicily, the Walcheren expedition, Spain, Portugal. At the date of his death he was senior Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in the XX. He was known as a brave officer.

<sup>2</sup> Ensign R. C. Oakley was gazetted to the XX on March 7th, 1811. He was promoted Lieutenant on October 21st, 1813, and Captain on December 27th, 1827. He was present at the battle of Vittoria, and served with the regiment in St. Helena and in India. Captain Oakley died at Belgaum on June 2nd, 1835. He was an officer of great piety, whose good influence was felt throughout the regiment. He taught in the day and Sunday schools, and worked for the spiritual benefit of the men. To show the respect in which he was held by all ranks, a monument was erected to his memory in Bodmin Church, by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the regiment.

which had intensified the darkness of the previous night, had not cleared until some hours after sunrise on the 26th; it shrouded the movements of the regiment, and enabled it to retire without molestation from the enemy. At two p.m. on the 26th, the battalion was on the heights of Linzoain, and halted there until midnight, when the retreat was resumed through the Tubiri valley, and at noon on the 27th a position was taken up on a rocky ridge near Zabaldica, and commanding the road to Huarte, and within sight of Pampeluna.

During the afternoon of the 27th, the regiment moved about a mile in advance of the position of the morning, piled arms, and bivouacked for the night. About midnight, a terrific thunderstorm raged, accompanied by wind and rain; the men were wet through, as they lay without covering. On the morning of the 28th, the XX was in line of battle, on the left of the British position, which was on a rugged height overlooking the Lanz river and the road to Villalba: immediately in their front was a small chapel held by the 7th Caçadores (Portuguese). The battle of Sorauren, which now began, was an affair of some importance, and the part taken in it by the XX was as follows.

About noon, a column of the enemy forced its way up to the chapel; the Portuguese at once fell back, but were rallied by Major-General Ross, and, together with the XX, charged the French with a shout that rang through the



hills above the rattle of the musketry, and sent them tumbling down through the woods in indescribable confusion. But the position of the enemy was a strong one, and difficult of access, and quickly reforming<sup>1</sup> they again attacked, but were a second time repulsed and broken. Additional columns now appearing on the right of the XX, it was forced to retire by the strength of the assailing masses on its front and right flank. The enemy gained the crest which had been so gallantly defended; but here the struggle was renewed with the whole brigade, and both sides were mixed together in the desperate confusion of a hand-to-hand conflict. At this moment Lord Wellington brought the 27th and 48th Regiments on to the scene, and sent them against the French, who were driven down the heights, and totally routed and defeated. We cannot refrain from giving one quotation from Sir William Napier's history, in which he deals with the struggle on the crest of the ridge before the 27th and 48th joined in the fray. He says: "The 7th Portuguese Regiment, fighting on the right of Ross's brigade, yielded to the fury of the French; a heavy body crowned the heights, and, wheeling against the exposed flank of Ross, forced that gallant officer also to go back. His ground was instantly occupied by the enemies with whom he had been engaged in front, and the fight raged close and desperate on the crest of the position;

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<sup>1</sup> *Despatches*, vol. x., p. 583.



charge succeeded charge, and each side yielded and recovered by turns."<sup>1</sup> The loss of the XX on this occasion was Captain Murdoch McKenzie and eighteen men killed; Captains John Murray, Edward Jackson (severely), Lieutenants R. L. Lewis (severely), J. H. Bainbrigge<sup>2</sup> (lost right arm), C. Connor, and T. Falls<sup>3</sup> (severely), two sergeants and eighty-one wounded.

The following extract from the despatch of Lord Wellington, dated San Estevan, August 1st, 1813, refer to these combats: "In the actions which took place this day (July 25th), the XX regiment distinguished themselves." . . . "In the course of this contest (July 28th) the gallant 4th Division, which had been so frequently distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet, and the 7th, XX, 23rd, and 40th Regiments, four different times. Their officers set them the example, and Major-General Ross had two horses shot under him." The despatch concludes with this paragraph: "It is impossible to describe the enthusiastic bravery of the 4th Division; and I am much indebted to Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole for the manner in which he directed their operations. Major-General Ross

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii., p. 261. From the same work we learn that Lord Wellington called it "bludgeon work."

<sup>2</sup> For a narrative of these and other actions, by General J. H. Bainbrigge, see Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant Thomas Falls was aide-de-camp to General Ross, and continued to serve on the General's staff until his death at Baltimore. Lieutenant Falls reached the rank of a General Officer.



*Private  
1712*



and all the officers commanding, and officers of the regiments were remarkable for their gallantry." To Lord Liverpool he wrote : " I never saw such fighting, nor such determination as our troops showed."<sup>1</sup>

On July 29th, the XX pushed through the Pass of Vilate in pursuit of the enemy, and was engaged in an unimportant skirmish on the 30th. On August 1st the regiment ascended the heights above San Estevan, attacked the French rear-guard, and during the day was frequently engaged in detached positions. They made several charges with the bayonet, capturing much baggage and making a large number of prisoners. Lieutenant Fitzgerald was slightly wounded. On August 2nd, the XX marched from Yanzi, and in the afternoon took part in an attack on the front of the enemy's position at Echallar, which resulted in the defenders being driven out with considerable loss. The division supported Barnes' brigade in attacking the French rear-guard, but this was only a moral support, as the brigade had prematurely carried the position before the division reached its appointed place. The particulars of this engagement are very meagre, but it is recorded that the XX rendered very timely aid to the 6th Regiment in particular. Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope (the officer commanding the regiment) was mortally wounded whilst in the act of assisting some wounded men of the corps, and died at Passages on Sep-

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<sup>1</sup> *Despatches*, vol. x., p. 597.

tember 15th.<sup>1</sup> Ensign Wrixon and one man were killed, Lieutenants Rotlan (severely), Lutyens, six sergeants, and twenty-five rank and file wounded.

In all the actions fought in the Pyrenees, the light companies of Major-General Ross's brigade were commanded by Major A. Rose, who proved a very enterprising leader of light troops.

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel C. Steevens assumed the command of the regiment on Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope being wounded.

On August 4th the regiment went into camp at Lesaca, where it remained until the end of August: this town is about twenty miles from St. Sebastian, and one mile from Passages, where the wounded and invalids of the army were sent.

In consideration of the meritorious service of the non-commissioned officers of the army, a Warrant was promulgated by the War Office on July 27th, 1813, by which the pay of sergeant-majors was increased to three shillings a day, and of colour-sergeants to two shillings and fourpence, from June 25th previous. It was further ordered that colour-sergeants were to be distin-

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<sup>1</sup> "Poor Wauchope was buried at Passages, where he died. A few days before his death I sat by his bedside and wrote a letter to his father in Scotland, which he dictated, asking his father to meet him at Portsmouth, as he was daily expecting to embark at Passages for that place; but, alas! it was not to be. At the time of his death, Lieutenant W. Chafin Grove, of the XX, was with him. There was always somebody of his regiment in attendance; many of us went to stay with him, but Grove was always in his quarters, and was very kind and attentive. He had the best medical advice."—*Reminiscences of My Military Life*, p. 107. He had long served in the XX. His grandson was the late Major-General A. G. Wauchope, who fell at the head of the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein.

guished by an honourable badge. They were at all times to attend the colours, but this special duty was not to interfere with their ordinary regimental and company duties. At Lesaca, Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens conferred colour badges on ten of the most meritorious sergeants of the regiment.

The casualties (killed and wounded) of the XX in the campaign on the Pyrenees was twenty-one officers, thirteen sergeants, and two hundred and seventy-three rank and file.

The word "Pyrenees," to commemorate the various actions<sup>1</sup> was inscribed on the colours.

While the XX were enjoying their much-needed rest at Lesaca, St. Sebastian, which had undergone a siege of sixty days, still showed no signs of capitulating. Lord Wellington, irritated by the long delay, and considering that the besiegers (5th Division) had been discouraged, called for volunteers from the regiments composing the 1st, 4th, and Light Divisions: "*Men*," he said, "*who could show other troops how to mount a breach.*"<sup>2</sup> The numbers demanded from, and furnished by, the XX were two captains, two sergeants, one drummer and eighteen privates. This party, together with the other volunteers (two hundred in all) from the 4th Division, marched from camp at Lesaca to St. Sebastian on August 30th, 1813, under Brevet-Major Alexander Rose,

<sup>1</sup> Roncesvalles, which occurred on July 25th, excepted. "Pyrenees" was granted for the actions fought between July 28th and August 2nd.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii., p. 252.

who had been selected to command the volunteers of the division on this perilous enterprise. St. Sebastian was stormed and captured on the following day, August 31st.

At eleven o'clock, more than an hour before low water, the assaulting columns filed out of the trenches in front of No. 7 Battery: this brought them on to the strand, which, at low water, afforded a good front. The distance to the trench was 180 yards. The French prematurely exploded two mines, which brought down a considerable portion of the high retaining wall near the sea. Between twenty and thirty of an advance party of volunteers were killed by the fall of this wall, nevertheless the advance continued, and in excellent order the column reached the breach. The foremost ranks were met with a most destructive fire, but the men would not be denied. A wall from fifteen to twenty-five feet high was the next obstacle, and from this point every approach to the breaches was dominated by a heavy musketry fire, while the batteries poured in grape and shrapnel. Strenuous efforts were made to carry the breach in the curtain, but a traverse, strongly held and only fifteen yards away, swept down every man as he came to the summit of the breach. A second opening in the sea wall was stormed with equal intrepidity and gallantry, and at both places the carnage was appalling, but men came into the breach as fast as their comrades fell. For two hours this desperate, and, so far, unavailing sacri-



fice was made by the 5th Division and seven hundred and fifty volunteers from the other divisions. So far, nothing had been gained, and the rising tide might compel the columns to retire. The situation was perilous. The British now brought a concentrated fire of forty-seven guns on the curtain and traverse, which compelled the garrison to leave their first defence, and considerably subdued their musketry fire. The curtain was seriously damaged by the fire of the guns, and within a short space of time an explosion on the ramparts carried destruction and confusion among the defenders. The assailants took advantage of this to rush the first traverse. The garrison contested this bravely, but after a fierce contest they were obliged to retire. Successes gained by the Portuguese on the right now enabled the allies to force the French into the town, and under a heavy storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, they were, by three p.m., masters of the town, but at a loss of no less than 500 men killed, and 1,500 wounded.<sup>1</sup> *Every officer and man of the detachment furnished by the XX was either killed or wounded.* The following are the particulars: Major Rose,<sup>2</sup> Ser-

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of Sieges*, by Major-General Sir J. T. Jones, vol. ii., p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Rose joined the XX as Ensign in the year 1796, gained his Captain's commission on June 16th, 1800, and was promoted Brevet-Major on January 1st, 1812. He served with the regiment in Holland, and was present at the battles of Egmont op Zee and Krabbendam. He accompanied the regiment to Minorca, and thence to Egypt, and took part in the attack on the forts at Alexandria. His next service was at the battle of Maida, and the operations in Naples and Sicily. He was with the XX throughout the retreat on Coruña, and

geant John Fletcher, Privates Samuel Wright and James Taylor, killed in the breach ; Captain John Murray, Sergeant Seth Gambling, Drummer John Keays, and sixteen men wounded.

After nearly a month's rest at Lesaca, on August 30th, 1813, the XX occupied a position in support of the Spaniards, close under the foundry of San Antonio, on the Pena de Haya mountain. On the 31st the regiment was still held in reserve on the Crown mountain, near the river Bidassoa, and during the forenoon the enemy crossed the river and attacked the Spaniards. Lord Wellington remained with the regiment during the whole of this day, as the position afforded an extensive and commanding view of the scene of operations. News of the fall of St. Sebastian, and the death of Major Rose, reached

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in the expedition to Walcheren ; he led the light troops of the Fusilier Brigade at the battle of Vittoria, and in all the actions fought on the Pyrenees, and terminated his career in the breach at St. Sebastian. The services of Major Rose passed unrecognised ; but a posthumous reward, in the form of a grant of a medal for the Pyrenees, was published in the *London Gazette* of June 1st, 1814, nine months after his death. The following sketch is from the pen of his friend and brother officer, Colonel Steevens : " At the siege of St Sebastian I lost my most intimate friend in the regiment, Major Rose ; we had been together nearly eighteen years, and I felt his loss most deeply. He was a fine, high-spirited, brave young Scotchman, the handsomest officer in the XX, of an excellent temper ; he was a great favourite among all ranks in the regiment, and much regretted by everybody, and by no one more than myself. When he marched his detachment from the 4th Division a day or two before the place was stormed, I went part of the way with him ; he was talking to me a good deal about the duty on which he was going, well knowing what a dangerous one it was, and he seemed to have a presentiment that he should never return ; for when I took leave of him, and wished him every success, and said, ' God speed you, my dear fellow,' he replied, ' God bless you, I shall never see you again.' "

the regiment at three p.m.; about the same hour a storm broke over the mountains, and, continuing to rage during the remainder of the day, put an end to the combat between the French and Spaniards, of which the regiment had been quiet observers.

The XX returned to the camp at Lesaca on September 3rd, and on the 12th encamped near the Yanzi bridge on the Bidassoa. It marched to Passages on the 22nd to receive new clothing. The XX held an advanced post on the heights of Santa Barbara on October 6th and 7th, and on the 8th encamped on one of the lower slopes of the great Rune. The 4th Division were in reserve, covering the passage of the Bidaossa. The regiment was frequently engaged in small skirmishes.

During October and the early part of November the regiment was encamped on the side of a bleak mountain range, exposed to the full blast of piercing winds and the drenching autumnal rains, which had now set in, and from which their tents afforded but little protection.

The battle of Nivelle was fought on November 10th. Before daybreak the regiment moved down the passes of the Pyrenees, in the most profound silence, and lay at the appointed place. The allies, 74,000 strong, were to attack a line of fortified positions eight miles in length, held by 60,000 Frenchmen. The 3rd Division turned the left of the village, the Andulasians the right,

while the 4th Division attacked and carried it in front. Of this battle it is said, and what is rare in war, that on the side of the British there was not a single error in details. At dawn of day three signal guns were fired, and the XX, with the 4th Division, assaulted the redoubt of San Barbe. Our skirmishers were not long in working their way into the rear of the work, when the French, without making a single effort to expel them, fled from it.<sup>1</sup> Leaving the redoubt, our men pushed on to the village of Sarre, which was soon carried, and an advance made against a position held by the enemy on the heights in rear. This was also rapidly disposed of, and the enemy, under General Conroux, was eagerly pursued. General Clausel, who endeavoured to cover the retreat of Conroux's defeated troops, was now attacked by the 4th Division ; the storming of the redoubt Louis XIV. being assigned to the XX. This redoubt was captured after a stubborn resistance, and the 58th French Regiment taken prisoners.<sup>2</sup> Many fell by the bayonet.<sup>3</sup> The regiment was still following the enemy, who had now taken to the bridge across the Nivelle, when it was halted by Lord Wellington. We have been unable to trace the losses of the XX on the day of this battle (Nivelle), during which it had marched and fought for twelve hours. After the battle, the regiment

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii., p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii., p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. Records.

went into cantonments opposite the French camp at Serres.

The XX advanced with the division on November 11th, but the roads were of deep clay, and the men sank up to their ankles in mud, and it was found impossible to continue the march. Quarters were found for the regiment in the village of Ascain, one wing making use of the chapel, and the other the houses in the village. The regiment remained at Ascain until the night of December 8th, when it marched towards Bayonne, which Marshal Soult had encircled with an entrenched camp.

The XX was in the reserve with the 4th Division during the passage of the Nive on the 9th. On the following day, Marshal Soult attacked the British position at Barroilhet, which was held by the 5th Division. The XX moved up in support, and occupied a ridge one mile in rear of the church of Arcangues. From this point the regiment, with the brigade under Major-General Ross, was sent to cover the village of Arbonne, and this movement had the effect of checking the enemy. At the close of this day's (10th) action, two regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, commanded by Colonel Krause, deserted from the French army and surrendered themselves to General Ross, in the camp of the XX. They were sent to the nearest port, and embarked for Germany.

At this time the regiment was for eight days without baggage or tents, and for several nights

all ranks were exposed to incessant rains or frosts. On December 14th, the regiment went into cantonments near the chateau of Arcangues at Arauntz,, and erected redoubts on the banks of the Nive.

At eight o'clock on the night of January 3rd, 1814, the XX marched from Arauntz, and, after a journey of a few hours, went into temporary quarters in a village *en route*. The march was continued the whole day from early morning on the 5th; the Nive was passed at Ustaritz, and an encampment was formed at night. On the following day the corps again moved forward, and was placed in the centre of the allied position at Bastide de Clerence. A general action was here expected: the allies came in touch about three p.m. with the enemy, who at once retired, the affair ending in a slight skirmish.

On the 7th, the XX was in bivouac; the cold was intense, and all suffered in consequence. On the following day they marched to Ustaritz, about a league from Bayonne, and went into cantonments. The roads had now become impassable quagmires, and both armies were fastened in their respective positions.

From Ustaritz, Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens proceeded to England on leave of absence, and the command of the regiment devolved upon Major James Bent.

On February 15th, the regiment advanced in the direction of Bayonne, and on the 21st was in cantonments at Bidache on the Bidouze; on the



24th, it was at Sardes, and at Peyrehorade on the 25th. The army was now moving on Orthes. On the 26th, the regiment forded two tributary streams of the river Paze. On the evening of this day the march was resumed, and, at daybreak on the 27th, the XX was at the church of Baigts, with the village of St. Boës in its front. This village was strongly occupied by the enemy; the heights in its rear could only be reached by a narrow tongue of ground commanded by the French reserve of sixteen guns, so placed on the Dax road, in a position covered from counter-fire, as to be able to destroy any column which should attempt to debouch from the village in this direction.

The 4th and 7th Divisions, with Vivian's brigade of cavalry, were ordered to turn the enemy's left at St. Boës. The XX, in the brigade under Major-General Ross, attacked St. Boës about nine a.m., and tried to force its way from the village.

Napier says<sup>1</sup>: "General Cole assailed St. Boës with Ross's British brigade; his object was to get to the open beyond it, but fierce and slaughtering was the struggle. Five times breaking through the scattered houses did Ross carry his battle into the wider space beyond: yet ever as the troops issued forth the French guns from the open hill smote them in front, and the reserve battery on the Dax road swept through them

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii, p. 413.



from flank to flank.”<sup>1</sup> General Ross fell dangerously wounded, and the combat at the village was continued with great obstinacy [for about three hours. A Portuguese regiment was sent to protect our right flank from the French riflemen, but they could not withstand the French, and soon fled from the fight, while the enemy's troops now crowded in on the exposed flank, that our men with difficulty fell back through St. Boës. The French were now taken in flank by two of our divisions, and at the same time Ross and Anson's Brigades, strongly supported, forced their way across the narrow neck and gained the ground beyond it. Here the XX charged with the bayonet a strong column of the enemy, which they forced back upon its own guns; but, as soon as their front was clear, the gunners poured a deadly fire into the ranks of the corps, which then charged for the guns, and captured two of them. Major Bent, who was in command, was instantly killed while gallantly leading the regiment.<sup>2</sup>

In the battle of Orthes the regiment suffered enormously, considering the numbers engaged.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> While Wellington was watching this attack, a grape shot struck the hilt of his sword, driving it violently against his hip. He fell to the ground, but rose quickly, saying, “By God! I am *ofendido* (wounded) this time.”—*Life of Wellington*, vol i., p. 366 (Maxwell).

<sup>2</sup> *Oakley's Diary*.

<sup>3</sup> To commemorate the deeds of the army in the battles in the neighbourhood of Biarritz, a porch was added to the English church. The numbers and badges of the regiments engaged are inscribed on a brass. Against the XX (East Devonshire) are the names of—

Major James Bent (who commanded the regiment), Captain J. D. St. Aurien, Ensign J. Murray, and six men were killed. Captains John Murray (severely), R. Telford, A. Smith, Lieutenants C. Connor, and E. L. Godfrey were wounded. Captain George Tovey was taken prisoner. Sergeant-Major H. Hollinsworth, three sergeants, two corporals, and ninety-three men were severely wounded, and one man was taken prisoner. The casualties on both sides were heavy, those of the French being no less than seven thousand. After the action fought at Orthes, the probable effective strength of the regiment did not exceed two hundred men, although, according to Colonel Steevens, there were nearly four hundred survivors from the fight at Roncesvalles. Between July 26th, 1813, and February 26th, 1814, the casualties of the corps in battles alone were one hundred and fifty-three men; this number, added to the one hundred and five placed

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Major J. Bent, Orthes, February 27th.

Captain J. de St. Aurien, Orthes, February 27th.

Lieutenant J. Murray (d.o.w.), Orthes, March 27th.

R.F., XVI., February 27th—April 10th.

Beneath the names is this inscription—

*"Pristinæ Virtutis Memor.*

This porch, dedicated to the memory  
of the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and  
Men of the British Army who fell in the S.W. of France  
from October 7th, 1813, to April 14th, was erected  
by their fellow soldiers and compatriots,  
A.D. 1882.

*Give Peace in our time, O Lord."*

A further inscription records the fact that "Her Majesty, Victoria R. L., visited this memorial, March 30th, 1889."

*hors de combat* at Orthes, would reduce the fighting line by two hundred and fifty-eight men. Some of the wounded did no doubt rejoin the ranks, but this addition would be counterbalanced by losses from other causes, for there was a fair percentage of sickness in the army at this period. There is no mention made in the manuscript records, nor in any other document, so far as we have been able to ascertain, of men joining the regiment from England or elsewhere. Captain Wm. Russell<sup>1</sup> succeeded to the command of the regiment on the death of Major Bent.

The regiment followed in pursuit of the French on the day following Orthes; the Ardour was crossed at St. Sever, and the march was continued daily until March 10th, when a halt was made at Langon (Bordeaux) until the 14th. In the meanwhile the objective point was changed, and the XX was ordered to proceed by forced marches to the town of Toulouse. On April 4th it crossed the Garonne, by a pontoon bridge, at the town of Grenade, fifteen miles from Toulouse, and on the following day was at Croix d'Orade.

About six a.m. on April 10th (Easter Sunday), the XX left the bivouac of the previous night, to take part in the attack on Toulouse; it crossed

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<sup>1</sup> This was the second occasion on which this officer succeeded to a command in action. At Maida, during the battle, the command of the light company fell to him on the death of Captain McLean. In the March number of the *N.S. Journal* for 1839, Lieutenant-Colonel George Tovey (veteran), writing of the exploits of the light company at Maida, said that he (Russell) "was as gallant an officer as ever drew a sword." Major Russell settled in New South Wales.

the Ers at the bridge of Croix d'Orade, passed through the suburb of Mont Blanc, and for two miles struggled through the deep marshy ground which lay between the river Llers and the heights of St. Sypière. The 4th Division, of which the regiment formed part, stormed two redoubts, from which the enemy took flight, after a very feeble resistance: hence the loss was trifling, and only two rank and file were killed and seven wounded, Captain H. Obins, XX, Brigade-Major of the Fusilier Brigade, being among the latter.

The loss of the allies was proportionately high to the numbers engaged. Wellington declared "that in the whole course of his experience he had never seen an army so strongly posted as the French under Soult at Toulouse."

Captains G. Tovey and H. Obins were promoted Brevet-Majors for their distinguished services in this campaign (*London Gazette*, April 12th, 1814).

The Emperor Napoleon having abdicated, a convention was agreed to by Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult; and hostilities ceased on April 17th, 1814.

The XX marched through the town of Toulouse on April 22nd, was at Auch on the 24th, and at Condorn on the 25th, where it went into quarters and remained until May 30th, when it proceeded to Bordeaux under the command of Captain and Brevet-Major Russell on the 31st, the line of march being *via* Nerac and Bezas. The

army] was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux on June 6th, and was reviewed by Field-Marshal Lord Wellington on the 14th, at Blanquêt Fort, when these gallant soldiers took leave of their General with three hearty cheers.

Thus ended the connection of the XX with the grand historic Fourth Division of the army of the Peninsula: soldiers who never once, in the many struggles in which they were engaged, suffered themselves to be defeated—a phalanx mighty in war, “that won for itself a name nothing second in lustre to that of the Light Division.”<sup>1</sup>

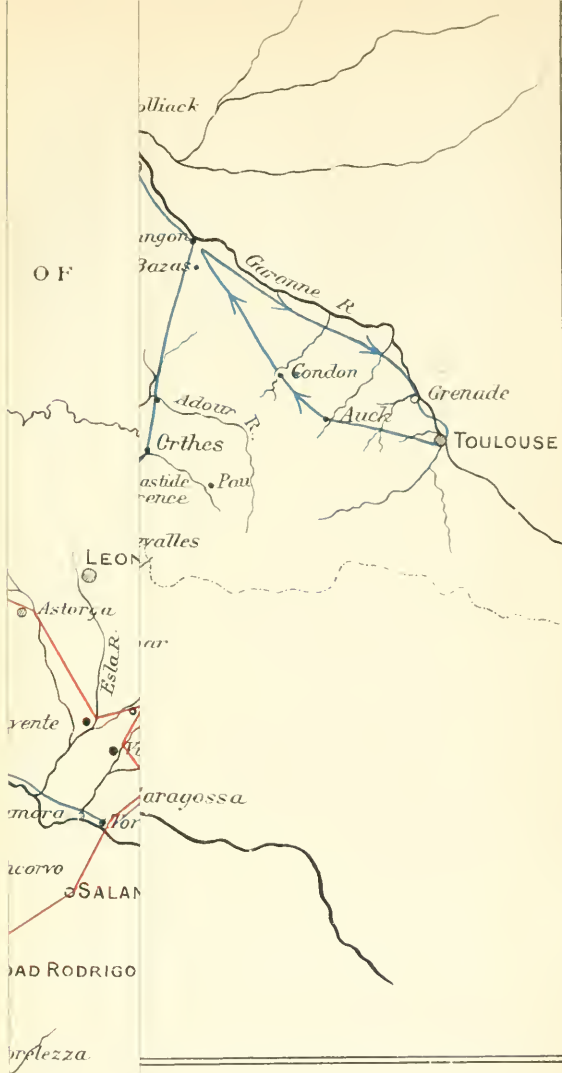
The XX embarked on board two transports at Poliack, on the Garonne, on the 16th, and sailed for Ireland on June 22nd, 1814.

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Wellington*, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, vol. i., p. 355.

NOTE.—The Spanish ladies, who were residing in Toulouse during the brief period the XX was quartered in the vicinity of that town, presented each officer with a silk rosette. One of these rosettes is now in the mess of the 1st Battalion.





# AND FRANCE.

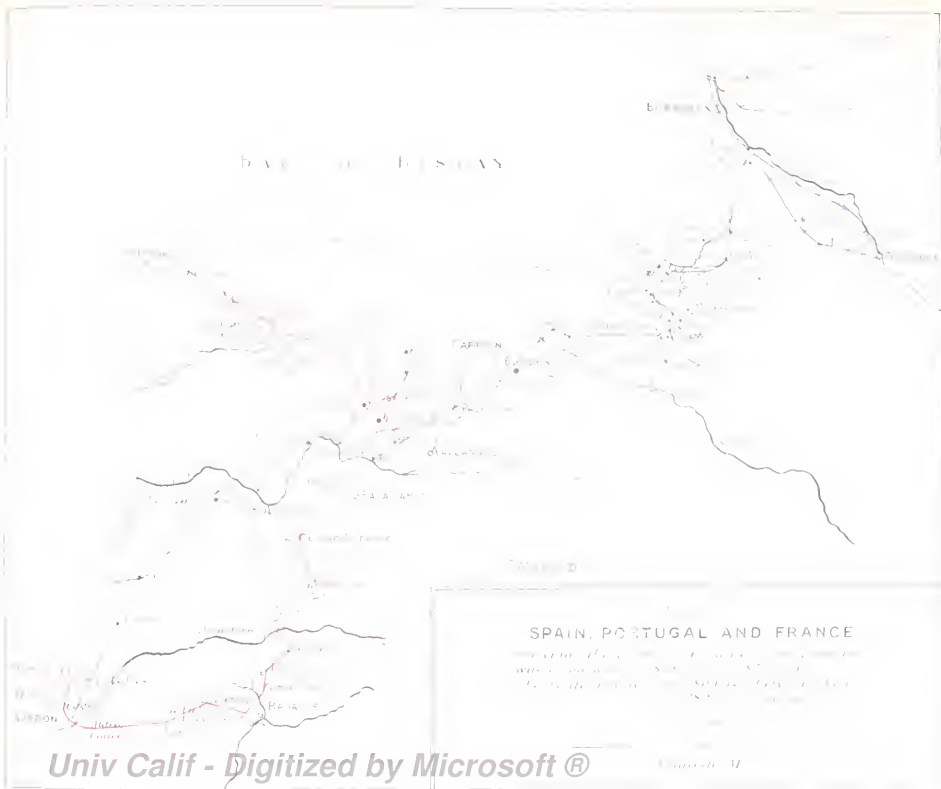
which the Regiment  
in 1812-13-14.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

1814—1819.

Arrived at Cork—March to Mallow—Death of General Ross—New Colours—Change of Station—Suppression of unlawful meetings—Move to Dublin—Colonel Charles Steevens retires from the Army—His services.

THE transports with the regiment on board arrived in the Cove of Cork on July 7th, 1814, and the disembarkation took place the same day at Monkstown.

The regiment marched to Cork, was billeted there for the night, and on the following day marched to Mallow, where it remained until July 21st, when it proceeded in three divisions, *via* Mitchelstown, Cahir, Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, and reached Waterford on August 1st. While stationed in Waterford, it was reduced in strength, by the discharge from the service of veteran soldiers wounded and worn out in many campaigns. Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens resumed the command of the regiment on its arrival at Waterford.

The regiment heard with universal sorrow of the death of Major-General Robert Ross,<sup>1</sup> Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the United States, who was shot on September 12th, 1814, whilst making a reconnaissance before Baltimore.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

General Ross was identified with and commanded the XX during one of the most glorious periods in the history of the corps, and the regiment subscribed a sum sufficient to erect a monumental tablet to his memory in the Parish Church, Rosstrevor, Co. Down.

The following "In Memoriam" paragraph was written in the MSS. Records by an officer who had the honour of serving in the XX under General Ross: "In testimony of their sorrow for his loss, the regiment appeared at church in mourning on successive Sundays for a month. A monument is erected in the Parish Church, Rosstrevor, on his own estate, and at once testifies how much in his life he was beloved, and, in his fall, regretted by the corps, for whose character and fame he had so zealously and successfully exerted himself, and to the comfort and welfare of which he was ever unceasingly devoted."

On the death of the Colonel of the regiment, Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, Count of Maida, the Colonelcy was conferred upon Lieutenant-General Sir William Houstoun, K.C.B., by commission, dated April 5th, 1815. Sir William Houstoun presented the regiment with new colours, bearing the additional honours that had been gained in the Peninsular campaign, and May 21st, 1815, it marched, *via* Carrick-on-Suir, Clonmel, and Cashel, to Templemore, arriving at the latter station on the 24th.

In the year 1815 the soldiers' small account

book, or pocket ledger, was introduced into the army, and by a letter to the Duke of Wellington, dated August 31st, 1815, Lord Palmerston, the Secretary-at-War, set forth its object: "In order to remedy the inconvenience and delay experienced in the adjustment of the claims of the soldiers, it was determined that a small book should be kept by every N. - C. officer and soldier calculated to show the actual state of their accounts." The book was first used in October of this year.

The county of Tipperary was at this time under the operation of the "Insurrection Act," and the duties the regiment was called upon to perform were disagreeable, and such as are usually carried out by police or officers of the law courts. Parties were constantly sent to seize stills to prevent the illicit distillation of whiskey; they were also employed in preventing unlawful meetings at night, searching for arms, and assisting to seize cattle in default of payment of rent.<sup>1</sup> The regiment marched from Templemore for Sligo and Boyle on March 22nd, 1816, the headquarters, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens, and a wing under Major South, being destined for Sligo; they arrived at their several quarters on the 28th. A great concession was made to the army by general orders of January 22nd, 1817, in which soldiers were granted the privilege of sending

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of My Military Life*, p. 121.

their own letters by post at the then very cheap rate of one penny. From the two stations mentioned, the regiment sent out nineteen detachments in the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Mayo, and Longford. On June 18th, 1818, the headquarters, followed by the various detached parties, marched for Dublin; the headquarters halted *en route* at Mullingar on June 11th, and met with a very cordial and hospitable reception from the 78th Highlanders, who thus renewed a friendship which began on the plain of Maida.

The regiment reached Dublin on June 15th, and was quartered in the castle barracks, six companies being detached at Naas and Wicklow. The establishment of the regiment was here fixed at six hundred and fifty rank and file. The Commander of the forces at this time was General Sir George Beckwith, son of Colonel Beckwith, who served for many years in the XX, and commanded it at "Minden." Sir George expressed his pleasure at meeting the corps, and evinced a great interest in all that concerned it.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Steevens<sup>2</sup> retired from the service by the sale of

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<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences of My Military Life*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> The subjoined is a *resumé* of Colonel Steevens's services in the XX:—Charles Steevens was gazetted an Ensign on December 30th, 1795, and joined the XX at Exeter in the spring of the following year. Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens was present with the battalion in all the stirring scenes and hard-fought victories in which the corps participated, from 1799 to the end of the war in 1814. He took part in the battles of Krabbendam and Egmont-op-Zee (was severely wounded and taken prisoner), in the attack on the forts at Alexandria, battles of Maida and Vimiera, and succeeded John Colborne in the com-

his commission on December 18th, 1818, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel South, an officer who had risen from the ranks.

In the month of December, 1818, the regiment left Dublin for Cork, being then under orders to embark for St. Helena. The route lay through the towns of Naas, Cashel, Clogheen, to Fermoy, where the corps was concentrated and quartered in barracks. The XX marched from Fermoy in four divisions during the months of January, February, and March, 1819, and embarked at the Cove of Cork on board the chartered ships "Windermere," "Albion," and "Lloyds." The ship "Lloyds," with the headquarters of the corps on board, reached St. Helena in the month of June, 1819.

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mand of the light company, and led it during the Coruña retreat and the Walcheren expedition. Was present at the battles of Vittoria, Roncesvalles, and all the actions on the Pyrenees, and commanded the XX at the battles of Nivelles and Nive. Lieutenant-Colonel Steevens received a gold medal for the actions on the Pyrenees, and a silver medal with clasps for Egypt, Maida, Vimiera, Coruña, Vittoria, Nivelles, and Nive. He commanded the regiment for five years, and two of his sons, Lieutenant-Colonel George Steevens and Captain Nathaniel Steevens, served in the corps. Lieutenant-Colonel N. Steevens published, in 1878, *Reminiscences of My Military Life*,\* a work which his father had written some years after he had left the regiment, and contains his recollections of the events through which he passed, and of the men with whom he had served in the XX. Colonel Steevens died at Cheltenham on March 9th, 1861.

\* In compiling the Records, this book was of invaluable assistance.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1819—1821.

Arrival at St. Helena—Effect of climate—Emperor Napoleon—Colonel Samuel South—Captain Lutyens—Surgeon Arnott—Presentation of *Life of Marlborough*—Sir Hudson Lowe objects—Death and burial of Napoleon.

ON disembarkation, the headquarters were stationed at Jamestown, and detachments at Francis Plain, High Knoll, Lemon Valley, Ladder Hill, and other small outposts. In February, 1820, the headquarters moved to Deadwood, relieving the 66th Regiment in the immediate charge of, and as guard over, the residence of the Emperor Napoleon; and this duty they performed during the last sad fifteen months of his life. In all the absorbing controversies that have centred round the captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena, the climate seems to have received but scant consideration.

It affected all concerned in the last scenes of that thrilling drama in which the now fallen Emperor had played the leading part; and in all probability hastened his end.

The monotonous course of existence on such an island would be in itself sufficiently enervating; but in addition to this St. Helena possesses a climate which knows scarcely any variation: there the thermometer always seems to be at fever heat,

and everything living, whether animal or vegetable, is "forced." There is no period of rest, no opportunity for recuperation, but one continued strain upon Nature which, as may readily be understood, quickly reduces even strong men, in full vigour of life and work, to a condition of inertia and discomfort. What, then, must it have been to Napoleon, with his almost superhuman activities of both mind and body? Contrast his life on the island as a prisoner with what it had been as Emperor of the French and conqueror of Europe; at one time dictating terms to Heads of Church and State; now afflicted with a slow and deadly disease, and enduring what he considered unnecessary hardships, petty restrictions, and innumerable "small incidents" which harassed and infuriated him. And, as if all this had not been sufficient, he had to endure the squabbles and bickerings of the members of his suite, and the personal attentions of an inefficient and gossiping doctor (Antommarchi).

The suspicious exactions of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, increased the arduous nature of the duties of both officers and men of the regiment quartered at Deadwood. Such was the position of affairs when the XX, commanded by Major Jackson<sup>1</sup> came into personal contact with

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<sup>1</sup> This officer was in temporary command, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel South having proceeded to England preparatory to retiring upon half-pay.\*

\* The career of Samuel South in the XX was a long, successful, and eventful one. Of the date of his joining, or the particulars of the early period of his service in the corps, there are no data. He was promoted



Napoleon. The officer appointed as permanent Orderly to the Emperor was Captain Englebert Lutyens, who held this office from February 10th, 1820, to April 15th, 1821. He was really "on guard" over the Emperor in his own residence, being personally responsible for the safe keeping of the captive, whom he was obliged to see at least once a day, and to report accordingly to the Governor.

Captain Lutyens fulfilled the unpleasant and irksome duties of this position with so much gentlemanly feeling, generosity, and tact, that he gained the confidence of Napoleon, the respect of the members of his suite, and the disapproval of Sir Hudson Lowe, by whom he was at length removed. For some months previous to his death, Napoleon was unable to leave his room, but by an amicable arrangement with Counts Montholon and Bertrand, Captain Lutyens was

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Quartermaster from Sergeant-Major on March 29th, 1794, and subsequently became Adjutant, with the rank of Lieutenant; he was promoted Captain on March 14th, 1805, Major in 1813, and Lieutenant-Colonel in December, 1818. Colonel South's war services commenced in St. Domingo, in 1794; during this campaign he passed through the trying ordeal of several epidemics of yellow fever, which decimated the regiment, and he was one of the seventy-six survivors who returned to England. He was Adjutant of the corps in Holland, and was wounded at the battle of Krabbendam; he served in Egypt; was present at the battles of Maida and Vimiera, and throughout the Coruña retreat, and accompanied the regiment on the Walcheren expedition. He served with the corps at the battles of Vittoria and Roncesvalles, in all the actions on the Pyrenees, and the battles of Orthes, Nive, Nivelle, and Toulouse, and ended a remarkable career as commander of the corps, when guarding the "Great Napoleon." His son, Charles South, joined the XX as Ensign in 1814, was promoted Lieutenant December 17th, 1818, and appointed Paymaster of the corps on August 23rd, 1827.

informed when the Emperor would pass a window, and he was thus able to report to Sir Hudson that he had seen "General Buonaparte."

Towards the close, when the Emperor seldom left his bed, these friendly plans were frustrated, and Lutyens could no longer say that he had seen him. This caused the Governor some irritation. Of Napoleon's appreciation of Captain Lutyens we have the evidence of a letter from Count Montholon of March 26th, 1821: "I have been directed by the Emperor Napoleon to deliver to you a pair of pistols, in token of his satisfaction of your behaviour during the last fourteen months. I regret that, hitherto, it has been impossible for me to obtain the weapons from the hands of the local authorities, but as soon as I arrive in Europe I shall hasten to fulfil the orders I have received with respect to you."

On March 19th, 1821, Doctor Arnott, the Surgeon of the XX, was consulted by the Emperor's physician, Professor Antommarchi, and he paid his first visit to the Emperor on the evening of April 1st, after which his visits were of daily occurrence. On April 14th the Emperor received the doctor in the most affable manner, and after questioning him as to his case, he suddenly turned the subject from medicine to war, and began to talk about the English armies, the Generals by whom they had been commanded, and passed a magnificent eulogy upon Marl-

borough,<sup>1</sup> "a man," said the Emperor, "whose mind was not narrowly confined to the field of battle ; he fought and negotiated ; he was at once a captain and a diplomatist. Has the Twentieth his campaigns ?" "I think not," said Arnott. "Well," added the Emperor, "I have a copy, which I am glad to offer to that brave regiment ; take it, doctor, and place it in their library as coming from me."

The three volumes had been given to Napoleon by Lord Robert Spencer ; on the title-page are the words, "L'Empéreur Napoleon," but not, it is believed, in Napoleon's handwriting. Sir Hudson Lowe objected to the volumes being received by the regiment, unless the Imperial title was erased.<sup>2</sup> The officers would not consent to such a mutilation ; and on the books being sent to England for the opinion of his Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief, they were returned in their original condition, with the remark, that "such a gift from Napoleon to a British regiment was most gratifying to him, and that the safe detention of Napoleon was sufficient testimony that the regiment had done its duty, and the presentation of the books was a satisfactory and flattering acknowledgment that a delicate and difficult duty had been performed in a generous and gentlemanly spirit."

When Doctor Arnott received the books from

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<sup>1</sup> Abbot's *History of Napoleon*, vol. ii.; and *The Last Days of Napoleon*, by F. Antommarchi, vol. ii., p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Times*, September 12th, 1853.

Napoleon, he at once handed them to Lutyens, whom Sir Hudson Lowe desired to return the volumes to the Emperor. This Lutyens refused to do, and was at once removed and replaced by Captain Crockat.

On the death of the Emperor, on May 5th, 1821, the body was placed in Surgeon Arnott's<sup>1</sup> charge, and he watched over it night and day until the funeral. The officer on duty when the Emperor died was Captain W. Crockat, who regulated and controlled the order of admittance of persons wishing to view the body of the deceased. Twelve Grenadiers of the XX carried the remains to the grave. The *London Gazette* of July 4th, 1821, announced the arrival in London of Captain Crockat, XX Regiment, with a despatch from Sir H. Lowe, informing the Government of Napoleon's death.<sup>2</sup>

For this service Captain Crockat was promoted

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<sup>1</sup> Arnott continued in attendance on the Emperor. He has left but scanty materials of his experiences. It was not until the 27th or 28th that he realised the Emperor's illness was mortal. At six o'clock on the evening of May 5th Napoleon died, and at the hour of the passing away a storm raged in a climate that is monotonously mild. It is a strange coincidence that at the death of Cromwell a storm of unusual violence raged.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix.

NOTE.—In addition to three volumes of Cox's *Life of Marlborough*, the following Napoleonic relics are in the Officers' Mess of the 1st Battalion. They were presented by Sir Owen T. Burne, G.C.S.I.:—Miniature imitation in bog-oak and gold of Napoleon's sarcophagus in the Palace of the Invalides, Paris. Lock of Napoleon's hair. A piece of the coffin which contained his remains, when first interred at St. Helena. There is also a letter bearing the signature of Marshal Soult, Duc de Dalmatia, addressed to the officers of the regiment, and dated Weedon, July, 1838.

Brevet-Major, and awarded the sum of £500.<sup>1</sup> The arbitrary removal of Captain Lutyens gave rise to much annoyance and dissatisfaction in the regiment, and the whole circumstances of the case were brought to the notice of the authorities in England, who made some amends by promoting him a Brevet-Major (July 5th, 1821), with precedence to Major Crockat, and with a similar grant—namely, £500. The relationship of the XX with the members of Napoleon's suite were of a friendly character. The following letters, copied in the handwriting of Captain R. C. Oakley,<sup>2</sup> but to whom addressed is not stated,

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<sup>1</sup> General William Crockat joined the XX in Sicily on April 9th, 1807, as Ensign. He was promoted Lieutenant on June 30th, 1808, and was present at the battle of Vimiera, and the retreat to, and battle of, Coruña. Lieutenant Crockat took part in the battle of Vittoria, and was severely wounded in the combat at Roncesvalles on the Pyrenees. He was promoted Captain on March 31st, 1814. Captain Crockat was promoted Brevet-Major (July 5th, 1821) for bringing home the despatches announcing the death of Napoleon. In April, 1822, he accompanied the regiment to India, and retired upon half-pay in November 7th, 1826. His subsequent promotions were:—Lieutenant-Colonel, January 10th, 1837; Colonel, November 11th, 1851; Major-General, August 31st, 1855; Lieutenant-General, December 21st, 1862, and General, October 25th, 1871. General Crockat died in 1879, aged 88 years.

<sup>2</sup> This extract from the diary of the late Captain R. C. Oakley is not without historical interest:—

“St. Helena, March 20th, 1822.

“Doctor Arnott has just shown me a letter, dated September 4th, 1821 (the day after the return of H.M.S. ‘Hero’ to St. Helena), from Lieutenant-Colonel Gorrequer, military secretary, of which the following is at least the substance:—

“SIR,—I am directed by Brigadier-General Coffin to desire that you will state, in writing, for the information of H.M. Government, whether General Bounaparte was in possession of his mental faculties on April 16th, 1821. It may, perhaps, be desirable that your statement should be made in the form of a certificate.’

“Dr. Arnott read to me his reply to the above, which was to this effect:—

testify to this fact. Count Montholon wrote :—

“If you come to France, I shall be happy to see you and any officer of the XX Regiment. I cannot express the sense we all have of their kindness, and this was always the feeling of the Emperor.”

Count Bertrand was equally emphatic :—

“Present my compliments to all the officers of the XX Regiment. Tell them how much I thank them for their kindness—I shall never forget it—that I am sorry I could see them so little; you know it was not my fault.”

In 1821, the regiment changed quarters to Francis Plain. Lieutenant-Colonel James Ogilvie, C.B., having exchanged from half-pay, arrived at St. Helena in the month of September, 1821, and assumed command of the corps.

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“I have referred to the remarks which I daily made during the time I attended on General Bounaparte, and find that he was in full possession of his mental faculties on April 16th, 1821.”

“Dr. Arnott then read from a MS. book the notes he had made on the day named :—

“Napoleon told me he had written to the Prince Regent to request that his body might not be sent to London; that it would be an eternal shame to the nation; that his ashes would rise up in judgment against the nation; that he wished to be buried in the Cemeture de Père la Chaise, between Massena and Lannes. He told the Prince Regent that he was a dying man, and added that it was a shame to keep a defenceless man on a rock; that the oligarchy of England would soon be overthrown, and that Doctor Arnott might live to see it—that Lord Bathurst and a great many more would live to see it.”

He always spoke bitterly of the Ministers, but full of admiration of the nation.





## APPENDIX.

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### GUSTAVUS HAMILTON, VISCOUNT BOYNE.

GUSTAVUS HAMILTON was the second son of Sir Frederick Hamilton, by a daughter and heiress of Sir John Vaughan. He first won distinction by his successful defence of Coleraine for six weeks in 1689. Twice the Irish forces attempted to storm the town, but were, on both occasions, defeated with loss. On the 1st June, 1689, he succeeded Sir Robert Peyton as Colonel of the Regiment, and for seventeen years it was known as Gustavus Hamilton's regiment.

After his appointment to the command he lost no time in raising seven additional companies, and bringing the numbers up to the full establishment.

Ten days after his name appeared in the *Gazette*, the names of the officers necessary to complete were also published.

Gustavus Hamilton commanded his regiment at the battle of the Boyne, where his horse was shot under him; he also led it at the siege of Athlone, battle of Aughrim, and siege of Limerick. At Athlone he commanded the storming party, and waded the Shannon at the head of the Grenadiers. He also took part in the subsequent operations in Ireland.

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NOTE.—In the monograph of Gustavus Hamilton, Viscount Boyne, which was published as an Appendix to the first edition, Gustavus Hamilton, Governor of Enniskillen, is confused with Gustavus Hamilton, Governor of Coleraine. They were namesakes—both were Colonels serving in Ireland, and on the same side; possibly friends, surely known to each other—but were not relatives. The writer of the memoir in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Burke, Foster, and Cannon, have all fallen into this mistake. Gustavus Hamilton, Viscount Boyne, did not defend Enniskillen, but Coleraine. He did not raise the Enniskillen Regiment, but raised seven companies of the XX. The Governor of Enniskillen died in 1691.—*A True Relation of the Men of Enniskillen*. (B. S.).

On peace being restored he was appointed member of the Privy Council, Governor of Athlone, and Brigadier General, and as an additional reward he was granted some of the forfeited lands. In 1702, he commanded a brigade in the expedition to Cadiz, and was present at the capture of the Spanish fleet at Vigo. In 1704, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and in 1706 he obtained permission to dispose of the Colonelcy of his regiment.

Gustavus Hamilton was a member of the Privy Council in Ireland during the reigns of Queen Anne and George I. In October, 1715, he was created Baron Hamilton of Strackallan; and in 1717 he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Boyne. He died on the 16th of September, 1723.

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#### LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WILLIAM KINGSLEY.

WILLIAM KINGSLEY was, for many years, an officer in the Foot Guards, in which corps he acquired a reputation for personal bravery and attention to duty. Of his early career the particulars are meagre. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel in 1750, and was nominated Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3rd Foot Guards in 1752. He was appointed to the Colonelcy of the XX on the 22nd May, 1756. In 1757 he served with the expedition employed on the coast of France, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt. Colonel Kingsley was promoted Major-General in January 1758. He served in the Seven Years' War, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and greatly distinguished himself at the head of the 2nd Brigade of British infantry (the XX was one of the three regiments in the brigade) at the battle of Minden, for which he was thanked in general orders by Prince Ferdinand. He continued to serve with the army in Germany until the following year, 1760. He was appointed Governor of Fort William on the 22nd March, 1760, and promoted Lieutenant-General in December of the same year. He died in November, 1769.

## MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

ONE of the few royalists exempted from the amnesty granted to the Limerick garrison when the city was taken by Ireton in 1651 was Captain George Woulfe. For his zeal in the cause of the King he was proscribed, and with difficulty made his escape to the north of England. From reasons of expediency he dropped the "u" from his surname. His son Edward was Lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Irish Foot Guards in 1686, but in this year he was turned out of the Irish army because he was a Protestant. In 1688 he was appointed a Captain of an independent company in the 17th Regiment by William III. Captain Wolfe saw a great deal of active service. He had two sons, Edward and Walter. Edward was granted a commission as Ensign in Viscount Shannon's regiment of Marines.<sup>1</sup> He served in some of Marlborough's campaigns, and was at one time Brigade-Major. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the army. Earlier in his career he married a Miss Thompson, of Marsden, in Yorkshire, the eldest son of this marriage, James, who became immortalized as the hero of Quebec, was born at the Vicarage, Westerham, Kent, on the 2nd January (N.S.). 1726; and he entered the army as Second-Lieutenant in Colonel Edward Wolfe's (his father) regiment of Marines, on November 3rd, 1741. Early in the following year he was transferred to Colonel Duroure's (12th) Regiment. With this corps he proceeded on active service, and arrived at Ostend on May 10th, 1742, being acting Adjutant of the 12th Regiment at the battle of Dettingen, June 27th, 1743. The major of the regiment was in command, and he, with the acting Adjutant, Ensign Wolfe, were the only two mounted officers. The horse of the latter was shot under him. On July 2nd Wolfe was appointed Adjutant, and on the 14th of this month he was promoted Lieutenant. Promotion came rapidly. On June 3rd, 1744, he was gazetted Captain in Burrell's (4th) Regiment. Captain Wolfe served with the army in Flanders in 1743-45, under the Duke of Cumberland and

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix. p. 411, vol. iii., *English Army Lists*, Charles Dalton.

General Wade. He was appointed Brigade-Major on June 12th, 1745, but in a short time returned to England with the regiments that were withdrawn from Flanders, for the suppression of the rebellion, headed by Prince Charles Edward. Captain Wolfe fought with Burrell's (4th) Regiment at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden. At Culloden Burrell's regiment was on the left of the line, and had to withstand the fierce onslaught of the Cameron and Athol men, which they successfully did, with a loss of 120 killed and wounded. A story of an incident that is said to have passed between the Duke of Cumberland and Wolfe is worth repeating. It has come down to us from the days of Culloden, without contradiction.

"Wolfe," said the Duke, "shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with such contempt and insolence." "My commission," replied Wolfe, "is at your Highness's disposal, but I never can consent to become an executioner."

The war of the Austrian Succession afforded him many opportunities of showing his personal bravery and the prompt decision, which was one of the features of his character.

At the battle of Lauffeld, when scarcely twenty years of age, he was publicly thanked by the Commander-in-Chief for his masterly exertions at a critical moment. He was slightly wounded, and had two horses shot under him. At the age of twenty-one, Captain Wolfe had served in seven campaigns. He returned to England in November, 1748. The Duke had not forgotten him, for on January 5th, 1749, he was promoted Major of the XX, then Lord George Sackville's regiment. Soon after he joined at Stirling, the Lieutenant-Colonel, Cornwallis, was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, and consequently the command devolved on Wolfe.

Let us for a moment glance at the personal appearance of the new Major. To all of his brother officers he was probably known by repute, and to many his personal appearance would have been familiar from having served in the same campaigns. Major Wolfe would have been a conspicuous figure, even if he had no reputation as an officer.

A tall, thin, attenuated form, standing some six feet three

inches in height, with an awkward gait. Features, plain to ugliness, a receding forehead, with high, prominent cheek bones, a turned up, pointed nose, with a muddy-coloured complexion, surmounted by a shock of aggressively red hair. A firm mouth, from which a receding chin in no wise detracted. When animated, his blue eyes had an expression that at once seemed to dispell all the defects of his features. A weak and delicate constitution, which the cold, damp climate of Scotland tried severely; and often, to quote his own words, prevented him from taking his long, bony figure through a dance.<sup>1</sup> On March 20th, 1750, he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and from this date he held the command until 1758. In reality he had commanded from the date of his joining, as Lieutenant-Colonel Cornwallis left soon afterwards, and the Colonel was seldom present. The prevailing apathy and indifference of officers shocked Wolfe. Now that the command of a regiment was entrusted to him, he did not fail to impress upon his officers a sense of their responsibility. His first order directs Captains to render lists of the men in their companies, with a statement of their opinion as to the character of each, while their physical appearance and condition is to be watched. They are frequently to be visited by day, and occasionally by night. Officers were enjoined that they were never to think that they can do too much. Wolfe at this time had reached the age of twenty-two. Military history, tactics, fortifications, languages, and mathematics were his chief studies. His command of the regiment is fully described in the pages devoted to that period.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe was fond of sport. He pronounced himself a bad shot, but he seems to have enjoyed all the field sports—hunting, fishing, and shooting. These he called the rougher kind of entertainments, and informed his mother “that nothing but these please me now.” During his command the officers kept a pack of hounds, with which they hunted in Scotland and England. When marching they seemed to have hunted at the different halting places. Of sport in Scotland, he

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<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, vol. i., p. 74.

makes this statement:—"My cousin, Goldsmith,<sup>1</sup> has sent me the finest young pointer that ever was seen; he eclipses Workie and outdoes all. Goldsmith sent me a fishing rod and wheel at the same time, of his own workmanship, that are inestimable. This, with a salmon rod from my Uncle Wat, your flies and my own guns, puts me in condition to undertake Highland sport, and to adventure myself amongst mountains, lake, and wildest wastes." He was an excellent horseman.<sup>2</sup>

Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe was passed over for the Colonelcy of the regiment by Colonels Honeywood and Kingsley, who were both brought in from the Guards. The only reason assigned for these supercessions, which were very mortifying to one who was freely acknowledged to be one of the best officers in the service, was his youth.

He was appointed Quartermaster-General of the expedition commanded by Sir John Mordaunt which was sent against Rochefort in September, 1757. Of the military officers, Colonel Wolfe was the only one who acquired any reputation in this expedition, and for his services he was promoted Brevet-Colonel on October 21st, 1757. The Prime Minister, Pitt, had an unrivalled genius for selecting capable men. Of three Colonels nominated to command brigades in an expedition destined for the capture of Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island—this fortress commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence—Wolfe led the brigade which made the real attack on Freshwater Cove on June 8th. The landing was effected in a rolling sea, and under a heavy fire, nevertheless a redoubt was stormed, the entrenchments carried, and the other brigades were landed without opposition.

In the subsequent operations against Louisbourg, whether in an attack by the British, or in repelling a sortie by the French, the most conspicuous figure was that of Brigadier Wolfe. The garrison of Louisbourg capitulated on July 27th, 1758. Five thousand six hundred men became prisoners of war, and were sent to England, and two hundred and forty pieces of

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<sup>1</sup> An ancestor of the late Colonel E. P. T. Goldsmith.

<sup>2</sup> *Glasgow, Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 759.



ordnance, fifteen thousand stand of arms, besides a great store of ammunition and provisions, were captured. The French fleet was totally destroyed. Wolfe was known and spoken of as the "hero of Louisbourg." This was his first service in North America, and in a letter to his mother telling of the capture of Louisbourg he indulged in this prophecy: "North America will some time hence be a vast Empire—the seat of power and learning. There will grow a people out of our little spot, England, that will fill this vast space and divide this great portion of the globe with the Spaniard, who is possessed of the other half. It is my humble opinion that the French may be rooted out, if our Government will follow the blows they have given and prosecute the war with the vigour it requires."

On the 2nd Battalion being constituted the 67th Regiment, Wolfe was appointed Colonel, dating from April 21st, 1758, when he returned to England from America, he at once joined his regiment at Salisbury. As he explained in a letter to his father: "It seemed but right to wait for the Marshal's leave to go to town, and nowhere so properly as at the regiment." While in the enjoyment of his leave of absence, or rather while endeavouring to restore his enfeebled health at Bath, Wolfe was sent for by Pitt, and offered the command of an expedition which the great Minister intended should drive the French out of Canada. From his friends Wolfe did not hide his preference for service in Germany, where his old regiment, the XX, was; but, suffering as he was from gravel and rheumatism, he asserts "that he would much rather die than decline any kind of service that offered."

On January 12th, 1759, he was promoted Major-General (temporary, for service in North America), and appointed to command the expedition against Quebec. For nearly two months Wolfe endeavoured to draw Montcalm from his inaccessible entrenchments. He was untiring in activities, but all to no avail. On July 31st he made his first serious attempt to bring the French to battle at Montmorency, by attacking their entrenchments. Some of the boats ran aground, and this delayed the whole force. The Grenadiers were the first corps



landed, and, contrary to orders, attacked the enemy without waiting for the other columns to land. This impetuous and irregular proceeding caused a second delay, night was approaching, as the attack had to be timed to suit the tide, and a storm suddenly burst, therefore, Wolfe decided not to persevere in the attempt, and called off all the troops.<sup>1</sup> In his despatch to Pitt announcing this reverse, Wolfe clearly reviews the whole situation, his intentions, and the difficulties that stood in the way of their execution. He makes the important communication "that notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael's, about three miles above the town."

So that even in July, Wolfe had conceived the design of making the attempt on Montcalm, *above Quebec*. To his staff and Brigadiers he must have give some intimation of his alternative plans. This is only a fair assumption. After the reverse at Montmorency, worn out by incessant toil and anxiety, Wolfe became seriously unwell, and, to the sorrow and dismay of the soldiers, he was unable to leave his room.<sup>2</sup> Suffering from mental depression and great bodily pain, he directed the Brigadiers to consult so that the public service should not suffer by his indisposition. At the same time he indicated three methods of attacking the French. The Brigadiers rejected all three, and, as an alternative, recommended that the scene of operations should be changed to above the town. As we have seen, Wolfe had, in July, originated this idea. The failure of Montmorency, below the town, followed, and the Brigadiers now

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<sup>1</sup> Wolfe's despatch, August, 1759. The date is not given, but it was written early in August—presumably on the 1st.

<sup>2</sup> Knox's *Journal*. His illness must have caused him one feeling of pleasure. Strict disciplinarian that he was, he had a tender heart, and his men knew it. Captain Knox, of the 43rd, kept a minute diary, and he relates :—"It is with the greatest concern to the whole army that we are now informed of our amiable General being very ill of a slow fever. The soldiers lament him exceedingly, and seemed apprehensive of this event, before we were ascertained of it, by his not visiting the camp for several days." Later he writes :—"General Wolfe is on the recovery, to the inconceivable joy of the whole army." And on the last day of August, when the General visited the camps after his illness, "his appearance was hailed amongst them with the warmest expressions of delight by officers and men."

suggested the change. Wolfe at once re-adopted his own original plan. Day after day, ill and suffering as he was, he reconnoitred the French position, and sought for a place to effect a landing. A narrow path was discovered—up the side of a steep precipice, about three miles above Quebec, where the banks form a cove, now called Wolfe's Cove, but then Du Foulon. The path ran up to the Heights of Abraham.<sup>1</sup> Wolfe's plan was now made. "To get his army secretly, at night, upon the plains."<sup>2</sup> Wolfe's illness continued, and the frail body was only kept in motion by the heroic spirit it contained. To the doctors who were attending him he said, "I know perfectly well you cannot cure my complaint, but pray make me up so that I may be without pain for a few days: that is all I want." They did so. The General continued to reconnoitre the river and the land. He inspected every one of the ships and transports, looking after the comfort and health of the men. At midnight on September 11th the boats were ready to start for the rendezvous, and at two a.m. on the 12th the signal was given. All moved off silently, the General's barge leading. Those in the boat heard the husky voice of the General repeat:

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of powers,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike th' inevitable hour;  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

"Gentlemen," said he. "I would sooner have written that poem than take Quebec."

The honour of leading the advanced guard Wolfe gave to his old brother officer in the XX, Colonel Howe.

Wolfe, helped by his devoted Grenadiers, gained the summit of the Anse du Foulon. Two small batteries, which caused some annoyance, were taken and occupied by Howe. Wolfe soon made his dispositions. Leaving two companies to guard the landing place, he marched the rest to the Plains of Abraham, not a mile from the city. His division was quickly formed, and

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<sup>1</sup> Called after Abraham Martin, royal pilot of the St. Lawrence, who owned the land about the middle of the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of George, First Marquis Townshend.*

at six o'clock was in order of battle, waiting to receive the French. For some time the French sharp shooters and three field pieces kept up an irritating fire, but not a shot was returned. The men lay on the grass. Wolfe took up his position in front of the centre of the right wing, and the troops, in ranks three deep, sprang to their feet as soon as the French were observed to be on the move.

When but two hundred yards distant the French opened fire. Wolfe's orders were that his men were to reserve their fire, and they did so, until the French were within forty yards of them, then they poured in a most effective volley. Every ball seemed to take effect, and their dead lay in heaps. In the confusion the British had time to re-load. Wolfe, who at this time had been wounded in the wrist, sprang forward, sword in hand, at the head of the Grenadiers, and gave the signal for "the whole line to advance."<sup>1</sup> After a second volley they fell upon the French, who turned and fled from the bayonets of the British. Wolfe was still on the right, pressing on with the Grenadiers and the 28th. His tall, thin figure and bright uniform would at any time have made him conspicuous, but here, in the excitement of the fight, he became a mark for the French sharpshooters, who were concealed in some woods. He was struck a second time in the groin, but still continued to lead; only for a few moments, for he was wounded a third time, the ball passing through his lungs. He staggered forward, struggling to keep his feet, alas! and to Lieutenant Browne, of the Grenadiers, he said, "Support me, lest my brave soldiers see me fall. The day is ours—keep it." Before Browne could reach him he sank to the ground. Mr. Henderson, a volunteer, and a private soldier, rushed to his assistance, and were joined by an artillery officer. This party carried him to a small redoubt, where he asked to be laid upon the ground. When a surgeon was mentioned, Wolfe replied, "It is needless, it is all over with me," and sank into a stupor. "They run; see how they run!" shouted one of the attendants. "Who, who run?" murmured Wolfe. "The

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<sup>1</sup> This historic word of command has been given on two momentous occasions—by Wolfe, and at Waterloo by Wellington.

enemy, sir, they give way everywhere!" Summoning all his strength, as one waking out of a deep sleep, the General rejoined, "Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton and tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to the St. Charles river to cut off the retreat of the fugitives to the bridge." Then, turning on his side, he gasped, "God be praised, I now die in peace." Thus, in his three-and-thirtieth year, died—"Wolfe, upon the lap of smiling victory that moment won." <sup>1</sup>

After the victory the sorrow of the troops when they learned that their beloved General was dead was intense. An officer who had no personal or official connection with Wolfe wrote: "Our joy at this success was inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustain of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of." The feeling in England on the publication of the despatches announcing the surrender of Quebec and the death of Wolfe is thus described by Horace Walpole: "The incident of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exultation, than accident prepared to excite the passions of the whole people. They despaired, they triumphed, and they wept, for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory! Joy, curiosity, astonishment were painted on every countenance; the more they

<sup>1</sup> The engraving at p. 108 of this volume is after an original painting by James Barry, R.A. This picture possesses an historical accuracy to which, it is now acknowledged, the more celebrated painting by West has no pretension. Wolfe was carried off the field by four persons, but it is possible that they may have been joined by a fifth, General Monckton, Colonel Barré, Surgeon Adair (then at Crown Point), and the Indians were not present. Wolfe's profile and the figures are accurately drawn, which, apart from its beautiful colouring, renders it a work of great historic interest. The original painting was purchased in Canada by Colonel Lees Knowles, D.L., M.P., in 1901, and, with a singular munificence, he presented it to the regiment, with the wish that it might remain in the officers' mess of a battalion serving at home. The picture is now at the Dépôt.

<sup>2</sup> The silk sash worn by General Wolfe when wounded came into the possession of Sir Charles Ker, of Gateshaw, and was bequeathed to the 1st Battalion by Miss Elizabeth Ker, of Strathearn Place, Edinburgh, who died on November 4th, 1901. The sash is now in the Mess of the 1st Battalion.

inquired, the higher their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting." Every town and village in Great Britain blazed with bonfires and illuminations, with one exception, Blackheath, where his mother resided.

Every attribute of his noble character is thus laid before us :

"Wolfe—'the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier'—wins at once our admiration, our respect, and our love. Although by nature passionate, he was void of uncalled-for offence. He was impulsive, but not rash; persistent, but not obstinate; self-confident, yet modest; aspiring, but not vainglorious; generous, hospitable, and charitable, but not extravagant; stern, yet gentle; ingenious, but not egotistic; free-spoken, yet courteous. If ever high honour, strict integrity, and all the qualities which constitute a dutiful and affectionate son, a true and constant lover, a sincere friend, a loyal subject, and a pure patriot, were combined with fearless valour, untiring industry, and great mental capacity, they were combined in James Wolfe."<sup>1</sup>

#### BURIAL OF WOLFE.

Sunday, November, 17th, at seven in the morning. His Majesty's ship "Royal William" fired two signal guns for the removal of his remains. At eight the body was lowered into a twelve-oared barge, towed by two others, and attended by twelve more in a train of gloomy, silent pomp, minute guns firing from the ships at Spithead to the time of landing at Portsmouth point. The ceremony continued one hour. The 41st Regiment was ordered under arms before eight, and,

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Major-General James Wolfe*, by Robert Wright. London, 1864. At the time of his death Wolfe was engaged to Miss Lowther, who six years afterwards married Harry, sixth and last Duke of Bolton. Much has been written of Wolfe, but in his biographer he was fortunate. One hundred and fifteen years after his death, the history of his life, illustrated by some hundreds of letters, was published. It is a magnificent work, a "labour of love" from the hands of a capable and painstaking scholar. For the history of his "old regiment" it has been unreservedly drawn upon. At p. 448, Mr. Wright observes: "It is a remarkable fact that the truest estimates of Wolfe's character are presented in novels. In the *Virginians*, notwithstanding some confusion of time and place, we see much of the man as he lived and moved; so in the pages of *Chrysal*."

being joined by a company of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, marched from the parade to the bottom of the point to receive his remains. At nine the body was landed and put into a hearse, attended by a mourning coach, and proceeded through the garrison. The colours on the forts were hoisted half-mast high, the bells, muffled, rung in solemn concert with the march, while minute guns were fired on the platform from the entrance of the corpse to the end of the procession. The company of Royal Artillery led the van, with arms reversed, the corpse followed, and the 41st Regiment followed the hearse, their arms reversed. The body was thus conducted to the Land Port gates, where the Artillery opened to the right and left, and the hearse proceeded through them on its way to London. Though many thousands assembled on this occasion not the least disturbance happened; nothing was heard but the murmurs of broken accents in praise of the dead hero. At night, on the 20th, his remains were deposited in the family vault under the Parish Church at Greenwich. The following resolution was unanimously passed in the House of Commons on Wednesday, November 21st, 1759:—"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, most humbly to desire that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of the ever-lamented late Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's land forces on an expedition against Quebec, Major General James Wolfe, who, surmounting by ability and valour all obstacles of art and nature, was slain in the moment of victory, at the head of his conquering troops, in the arduous and decisive battle against the French army, near Quebec, fighting for their capital of Canada in the year 1759; and to assure His Majesty this House will make good the expense of erecting the said monument." At the same time it was resolved "that the thanks of the House be given to the Admirals and Generals employed in this glorious and successful expedition against Quebec." On October 4th, 1773, the national monument was uncovered. It stands near the north transept of the Abbey Church, and occupies a large space in St. John the Evangelist's Chapel.



facing the ambulatory. A large oval tablet in the centre of the sarcophagus contains the inscription :—

To the Memory of  
JAMES WOLFE,  
Major-General and Commander-in-Chief  
of the British Land Forces,  
in an Expedition against Quebec,  
who, after surmounting by ability and valour  
all obstacles of Art and Nature,  
was slain in the moment of victory  
on September XIII., MDCCLIX.,  
The King and Parliament of Great Britain  
dedicate this Monument.

Wolfe has a living memorial which, perhaps, is a fact that is not as well known as it should be. The regiment now known as the 17th Lancers was raised in honour of Wolfe, by his friend and comrade, Colonel John Hale, who commanded the 47th Regiment at the taking of Quebec, and brought home the despatches announcing the victory and death of Wolfe. There is no more striking badge in the army than that of the 17th Lancers, "The Death's Head" and the motto "Or Glory." It was chosen by Colonel Hale, and approved of by George the Third, with the intention that it should be "a perpetual commemoration of the death of Wolfe."<sup>1</sup>

It is obviously foreign to the scope and purpose of this work to enter into any controversy. But the attempt to alienate from Wolfe, and to give to Brigadier George Townshend, much of the credit for the success of the battle on the Heights of Abraham demands some notice. The foregoing sketch of the military life of Wolfe cannot in justice be questioned. The author of "The Military Life of Field-Marshal George, First Marquis Townshend," is pardonably anxious to claim from posterity, for an ancestor, all the honour and glory that can be construed to be his. Townshend served in the XX as Captain, and commanded a company at the battle of Culloden. Wolfe's connection is fully described in this work. The relations between the General Commanding at Quebec and Brigadier Townshend were of such a nature as can best be described,

<sup>1</sup> The dedication of a *History of the 17th Lancers*, by Hon. J. W. Fortescue.



with moderation, as strained. This is clearly shown in the biography of the Brigadier, who was a man of high social position and powerful friends, and made for himself many enemies. Walpole described him as "wrongheaded enough to be a hero." A Colonel serving under Wolfe in Canada, in a private letter, writes: "Townshend is well, but a malcontent." He exercised freely the dangerous art of the caricaturist. Early in August (probably the first) Wolfe, in a despatch to Pitt, made the definite statement of the "intention that he at one time held of effecting a landing at St. Michael's, three miles above the town." This is the first instance that even an indication was given of the attack on the French being made above the town. It must have been known to the members of Wolfe's staff and the Brigadiers. When prostrated with fever, towards the end of August, Wolfe officially requested the Brigadiers to consult so that the public service should not suffer in consequence of his indisposition. This was after the failure at Montmorency. He suggested three alternatives. The Brigadiers discarded these, and recommended that the operations should be transferred above the town. Wolfe at once accepted their suggestion, and daily reconnoitred the river and lands. At length he selected the place for landing, and for the ascent made every arrangement, carefully providing for every detail of the hazardous and daring project.

The orders of the Brigadiers and Colonels were most precise. Wolfe commanded in the battle; and at the supreme moment gave the order for the general advance which swept the French from the field, and almost with his last breath sent word for Webb's regiment to take up a position to cut off the retreat of the fugitives. This is the genius of war which is safe from detraction. No evidence has been adduced that Townshend had more to do with the conjoint recommendation of the Brigadiers than either of his colleagues beyond a reference to the assertion of Major Warburton. Against this there is the authority of Lord Stanhope and the testimony of Wolfe's despatch. There is clear evidence of Townshend's disloyalty to his chief. His brother, Charles Townshend, a prominent politician in Eng-

land, circulated in high places disparaging stories concerning Wolfe. Wolfe's proclamation to the Canadians was a masterpiece of rhetoric. His despatch of August 1st was an equally fine example of military descriptive writing. When the latter was published, Charles Townshend claimed that his brother George was the real author. When the despatch of Brigadier George Townshend, written after the death of Wolfe, was published, and its inferiority of style too obvious, the Honourable Charles was asked, "If your brother George wrote Wolfe's despatch, who the devil wrote your brother's?" The author's reference to the XX are very flattering, but the pre-eminence of Wolfe is too precious a regimental heritage for any attempt at detraction to be permitted without challenge. Every point raised by Lieutenant-Colonel Townshend was conclusively dealt with in almost prescient anticipation in the "Life of Wolfe," by Robert Wright.

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### THE ORDERS OF WOLFE.

THERE is in the 1st Battalion a small octavo volume,<sup>1</sup> of one hundred pages, composed chiefly of regimental orders, published by Lieutenant-Colonel James Wolfe, when commanding the XX. They are all directed to improve the discipline and professional training of the regiment. All appeal to the soldier's sense of honour, and tell him that by any irregularity, however trifling, he casts a reflection and stigma upon his regiment. The friendship, personal protection, and indulgence of the commanding officer is held out to the good soldiers. In matters of drill and instruction, the orders enter into the most minute detail. Vigilance and exact attention to duty were constantly impressed (and on occasions enforced) upon the officers. It is impossible, however interesting they might prove, to republish the whole or even a fraction of these orders.

But there is one set, under whose precepts the men of

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<sup>1</sup> A second edition, published in 1780. It was presented to the regiment by the late Sir T. N. O'Brien, K.C.M.G., Governor of Newfoundland. Sir Terence had served in the XX. The volume contains a long panegyric of Wolfe in somewhat stilted language.

“Kingsley’s” fought at Minden, and in the battles of the Seven Years’ war. These have been handed down to succeeding generations as containing all that a soldier of the XX should be when before the enemies of his country. They are entitled, “Instructions for the XX Regiment” (in case the French land), given by Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe, at Canterbury, 15th December, 1755.

“Whosoever shall throw away his arms in an action, whether officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier (unless it appears they are damaged so as to be useless), either under pretence of taking up others that are of a better sort, or for any other cause whatsoever, must expect to be tried by a general court-martial for the crime. If a sergeant leave the platoon he is appointed to, or does not take upon him the immediate command of it in case the officer falls, such sergeant shall be tried for his life as soon as a court-martial can be conveniently assembled. Neither officer, non-commissioned officer, nor soldier is to leave his platoon, or abandon the colours, for a slight wound; while a man is able to do his duty, and can stand and hold his arms, it is infamous to retire.

“The battalion is not to halloo or cry out upon any account whatsoever, although the rest of the troops should do it, until they are ordered to charge with their bayonets; in that case, and when they are upon the point of rushing upon the enemy, the battalion may give a warlike shout and rush in.

“Before a battle begins, and while the battalion is marching towards the enemy, the officer commanding a platoon is to be at the head of his men, looking frequently back upon them to see that they are in order, the sergeant in the meanwhile taking his place in the interval, and the officers are not to go to the flanks of the platoons till they have orders, or a signal to do so, from the officer commanding the battalion, and this will only be given a little before the action commences.

“If the battalion should be crowded at any time, or confined in their ground, the Captain or officer commanding a grand division may order his centre platoon to fall back till the battalion can extend itself again, so as to take up its usual ground.

“All the officers upon the left of the colours are to be on the left of their platoons. The Captain of the piquet is to be on the left of his piquet, and the Ensign in the centre.

“Every grand division consisting of two companies, as they now are, is to be told off in three platoons, to be commanded by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign, with a sergeant to each; the rest of the officers and non-commissioned officers are to be distributed in the rere to complete the files, to keep the men in their duty, and to supply the places of the officers or the sergeants that may be killed or dangerously wounded.

“Every musketeer is to have a couple of spare balls, an excellent flint in his piece, another or two in his pouch, and as much ammunition as he can carry.

“A soldier that takes the musket off his shoulder, and pretends to begin the battle without order, will be put to death that instant:—the cowardice or irregular proceedings of one man is not to put the whole in danger.

“A soldier that quits his rank, or offers to flag, is to be instantly put to death by the officer that commands that platoon, or by the officer or sergeant in rere of that platoon; a soldier does not deserve to live who won't fight for his King and country. If a non-commissioned officer or private man is missing from an action, and joins his company afterwards unhurt, he will be reputed a coward and a fugitive, and will be tried for his life.

“The drummers are to stay with their respective companies, to assist the wounded men.

“Every officer and every non-commissioned officer is to keep strictly to his post, and to preserve all possible order and obedience; the confusion occasioned by the loss of men, and the noise of artillery and musketry, will require every officer's strict attention to his duty.

“When the files of a platoon are disordered by the loss of men, they are to be completed afresh with the utmost expedition, in which officers and non-commissioned officers in the rere are to be aiding and assisting.

“Officers are never to go from one part of the battalion to another without orders, upon any pretence whatsoever.

“The eight companies of a battalion are never to pursue the enemy, without particular orders so to do; the piquet and grenadiers will be detached for that purpose, and the battalion is to march on in good order to support them.

“If the firing is ordered to begin by platoons, either from the wings or from the centre, it is to proceed in a regular manner till the enemy is defeated, or till the signal is given for attacking them with the bayonet.

“If we attack a body less in extent than the battalion, the platoons upon the wings must be careful to direct their fire obliquely, so as to strike upon the enemy; the officers to inform the soldiers of their platoons before the action begins, where they are to destroy them.

“There is no necessity for firing very fast; a cool well-levelled fire with the pieces carefully loaded, is much more destructive and formidable than the quickest fire in confusion.

“The soldiers are to take their orders entirely from the officers of the platoons, and they are to give them with all possible coolness and resolution. If a battalion in the front line should give way, and retire in disorder towards the second line, and towards that part of it where we are posted (according to the present order of battle), every other platoon, or every other company, is to march forward a little, leaving intervals opened for the disordered troops to go through, and after they are gone by the battalion forms into front and moves forward to take post in the first line from whence the broken battalion retired.

“If a battalion upon either flank gives way and is defeated, the piquet or grenadier company, wherever it happens to be, is to fall back immediately, without any confusion, and protect that flank of the regiment.

“The misbehaviour of any other corps will not affect this battalion, because the officers are determined to give the strongest proofs of their fidelity, zeal, and courage, in which the soldiers will second them with their usual spirit.

“If the order of battle be such (and the country admit of it) that it is necessary to make breaches in the enemy's line for the cavalry to fall in upon them, the grand divisions of the regiment

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are each to form a firing column of three platoons in depth, which are to march forward and pierce the enemy's battalion in four places, that the cavalry behind us may get in amongst them and destroy them. In such an attack only the first of the three platoons should fire, immediately present their bayonets, and charge. These four bodies are to be careful not to run into one another in their attack, but to preserve the intervals at a proper distance.

"All attacks in the night are to be made with the bayonet, unless when troops are posted with no other design than to alarm, harass, or fatigue the enemy, by firing into their outposts or into their camp.

"If intrenchments or redoubts are to be defended obstinately, the fire is to begin in a regular manner, when the enemy is within shot, at about two hundred yards, and to continue till they approach very near; and when the troops perceive that they endeavour to get over the parapet, they are to fix their bayonets, and make a bloody resistance.

"All small parties that are intended to fire upon the enemy's columns, or marches upon their advance guard, or their rear, are to post themselves so as to be able to annoy the enemy without danger, and to cover themselves with light breastworks of sod, behind the hedges, or with trees, or walls, or ditches, or any other protection; that if the enemy returns the fire it may do no mischief. These parties are to retire to some other place of the same kind, and fire in the same manner, constantly retiring when they are pushed.

"But when a considerable detachment of foot is posted to annoy the enemy upon their march, with orders to retire when attacked by a superior force, the country behind is to be carefully examined, and some parties to be sent off early to post themselves in the most advantageous manner to cover the retreat of the rest; this is always to be done in all situations when a considerable body is commanded to retire.

"If an entrenchment is to be attacked, the troops should move as quickly as possible towards the place—not in line, but in small firing columns of three or four platoons in depth, with small



parties between each column, who are to fire at the top of the parapet when the columns approach, to divert the enemy's fire, and to facilitate their passing the ditch and getting over the parapet, which they must endeavour to do without loss of time.

"It is of little purpose to fire at men who are covered with an entrenchment; but by attacking in the manner above mentioned one may succeed.

"If the seat of war should be in this strong enclosed country, it will be managed chiefly by fire, and every inch of ground that is proper for defence disputed with the enemy, in which case the soldiers will soon perceive the advantage of levelling their pieces properly; and they will likewise discover the use of several evolutions that they may now be at a loss to comprehend. The greater facility they have in moving from place to place and from one enclosure to another (either together or in separate bodies), without confusion or disorder, the easier they will fall upon the enemy with advantage, or retire when it is proper to do so, sometimes to draw the enemy into a dangerous position, at other times to take possession of new places of defence that will be constantly prepared behind them.

"If the battalion attacks another of nearly equal extent, whose flanks are not covered, the grenadiers and piquet may be ordered to detach themselves and surround the enemy, by attacking their flank and rear, while the eight companies charge them in front. The grenadiers and piquet should, therefore, be accustomed to these sort of movements, that they may execute their orders with a great deal of expedition.

"If the battalion is to attack another battalion of equal force, and of like number of ranks, and the country quite open, it is highly probable that, after firing a few rounds, they will be commanded to charge them with their bayonets, for which the officers and men should be prepared.

"If the centre of the battalion is attacked by a column, the wings must be extremely careful to fire obliquely. That part of the battalion against which the column marches must reserve their fire, and if they have to put two or three bullets in their pieces, it must be done. When the column is within about



twenty yards they must fire with a good aim, which will necessarily stop them a little.

“This body may then open from the centre, and retire by files towards the wings of the regiment, while the neighbouring platoons wheel to the right and left, and either fire, if they are loaded, or close up and charge with their bayonets.

“If a body of foot is posted behind a hedge, ditch, or wall, and, being attacked by a superior force, is ordered to retire, the body should move off by files, in one or more lines, as perpendicular as possible to the post they leave, that when the enemy extend themselves to fire through the hedges, the object to fire at may be as small as possible, and the march of the retiring body as quick as possible.

“The death of an officer commanding a company or platoon shall be no excuse for the confusion or misbehaviour of that platoon, for while there is an officer or non-commissioned officer left alive to command, no man is to abandon his colours and betray his country.

“The loss of the Field Officers will be supplied (if it should so happen) by the Captains, who will execute the plan of the regiment with honour.

“If the battalion should have the misfortune to be invested in their quarters (or in a post which they are not commanded to defend) by a great superiority they have but one remedy, which is to pierce the enemy's line or lines in the night, and get off. In this case the battalion attacks with their ranks and files closed, with their bayonets fixed, and without firing a shot. They will be formed in an attack suited to the place they are in.

All possible means will be used, no doubt, to surprise them; but if they are found in arms, they are to be vigorously attacked with the bayonet. It is needless to think of firing in the night, because of the confusion it creates, and the uncertainty of hitting any object in the dark. A column that receives the enemy's fire, and falls immediately in amongst them, must necessarily defeat them, and create a very great disorder in the army.

“The men should consider that they are upon the point of entering into a war for the defence of their country against an

enemy who has long meditated the destruction of it; that a drunken, vicious, irregular army is but a poor defence to a state; but that virtue, courage, and obedience in the troops are a sure guard against all assaults; that the troops that are posted in the country are designed to repel the enemy's first attempt; and that they should be in readiness to execute their part with honour and spirit, and not give themselves up to every excess, and to every irregularity in times like these; both officers and soldiers should exert themselves in every part of their duty, and show their countrymen that they deserve their esteem and consideration; and they should endeavour in a particular manner to recommend themselves to His Majesty, and to the Captain-General, for their zeal, fidelity, and valour."



## EARL GREY, K.B.\*

CHARLES GREY was born on October 23rd, 1729, being the third son of Sir Henry Grey, Baronet.<sup>1</sup> Charles Grey was appointed to the 6th Regiment as Ensign on December 18th, 1746; promoted Lieutenant in May, 1749, and Captain in the XX on March 21st, 1755. He was one of the Captains whom Wolfe so frequently eulogised, and he had the advantage of being a personal friend of that illustrious soldier.<sup>2</sup> The lessons which were so strongly impressed upon all ranks by the great Wolfe can be clearly traced throughout the long and brilliant career of Grey. In 1758 Captain Grey accompanied the regiment on the expedition against St. Malo; and in July of this year he went with it to Germany. At the battle of Minden (in which he was wounded), Captain Grey was aide-de-camp to His Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies. Captain Grey commanded the XX at the surprise of Zieremberg, on September 5th, 1760.<sup>3</sup> A full description of this surprise will be found at page 130. He was again at the head of the regiment, at the "many-winged, intricate night-battle"<sup>4</sup> fought at Kloster-Kampen on October 16th, 1760. This was an action of twenty hours' duration, and if judged by the number of casualties, it was one of the severest struggles of the campaign. Of the XX, Captain Grey, five officers, five sergeants, and 126 rank and file were wounded, one sergeant and twenty-two killed, and forty-nine rank and file taken prisoners. This was his last engagement, of any importance, with the XX. On January 27th, 1761, he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and appointed to the command of the 98th Regiment,

<sup>1</sup> *Official Baronetage of England*, vol ii., p. 76, by James E. Doyle, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the XX*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *British Military Journal*, London, 1799, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Carlyle.

\*NOTE.—In a letter dated Howick, November 14th, 1890, the late Earl Grey was pleased to express his approval of this memoir of his grandfather, and authorised the author to state that he believed it to be perfectly correct.

and in October of the following year he was appointed Colonel of foot, for service in Portugal. Colonel Grey was appointed aide-de-camp to King George III on December 20th, 1772; and transferred to the 28th Regiment on March 4th, 1777. He was promoted Major-General (he had held this rank, locally, in America, since the previous March) on August 29th, 1777. General Grey commanded a brigade in the division of General Sir William Howe<sup>1</sup>; the object of the campaign of 1777 being the capture of Philadelphia. On August 15th, 1777, the Division was landed at Elk Ferry in Chesapeake Bay, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. The army moved in two columns, one on either side of the Elk River. During the march, at a place called Brandywine, on September 11th, they defeated the Americans under Washington.<sup>2</sup> On the 16th of this month both armies suffered from an occurrence which has seldom delayed, much less prevented, an important battle being fought. A general engagement had commenced, when a violent rain storm burst over the scene of action and destroyed the ammunition of both armies.<sup>3</sup> Washington retreated, and the British continued their advance on Philadelphia, closely followed by General Wayne, who erroneously concluded that the British were not aware of his close proximity to their rear guard, and wrote to Washington to that effect. But he was soon to be undeceived. On the night of the 20th, while his troops were occupying some houses near the White Horse Tavern, in the village of Trudruffrin, which is about twenty miles from Philadelphia, they were surprised and destroyed by General Grey. Of this incident, the American Historian (Justin Windsor) says:—

“On the night of the 20th he was attacked by a strong detachment under Major-General Grey, and, although he had taken measures to guard against a surprise, the onslaught was so sudden that his men, who were sleeping on their arms, were

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<sup>1</sup> Generals Howe and Grey had served together in the XX as Captains.

<sup>2</sup> *History of America*, by Justin Windsor, 1888, vol. vi., p. 382.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

unable to make an effective resistance, and about one hundred and fifty were either killed or wounded with the bayonet.<sup>1</sup>

It was after this surprise that General Grey was known throughout the army by the sobriquet of "No Flint Grey," or "General No Flint," from his insistence that all was to be done with the bayonet, no firing, no flint to be used.<sup>2</sup> At Trud-ruffrin, as at Zieremberg, the attack was conducted in profound silence, not a shot fired, nor word spoken, until they fell upon the sleeping foe with the bayonet. These are the tactics of Wolfe, which he so carefully laid down in the last paragraph of his instructions to the XX.<sup>3</sup>

General Howe's army was assembled at Germantown on the 25th, a village of one street, two miles long, and five miles from Philadelphia; the latter place was occupied on the following day, the main portion of the army, however, remaining at Germantown. The village was attacked by Washington on October 4th. The attack was ably conducted, and fought with a

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<sup>1</sup> *History of America*, vol. vi., pp. 282, 283.

<sup>2</sup> Earl Grey has kindly given us his grandfather's explanation of the reasons which induced him to make this attack with unloaded muskets. It was told by his grandfather to his father, from whom he heard it.

When General Grey found that there was an opportunity of making this attack, he considered that its success would entirely depend upon the completeness of the surprise. He knew that the American force was imperfectly trained, and that if completely surprised it would probably be able to make little resistance; but he also felt sure that if his own soldiers made the attack with their muskets loaded, one or more of them would, in their excitement, fire prematurely, and that a single shot would give the alarm and spoil the attack. He had, accordingly, given orders that the men's muskets should not be loaded. But, just before reaching the scene of action, he discovered that his second in command, being nervous about going into a fight with unloaded arms, had made the men load. General Grey was much displeased when he heard of this, and as it was impossible to draw the charges from the muskets, he thought the only way of guarding against the risk of having the completeness of the surprise spoiled, was to have the flints taken out of the muskets, and this he had done, as soon as he made the discovery. The General had less hesitation about doing this, as he knew that in a dark night little could "be done by musketry fire, and that it was much better to make his men understand that they must trust entirely to their bayonets."

<sup>3</sup> *History of the XX*, p. 308.

determination that deserves, and generally gains success, and would have so resulted on this occasion but for Major-General Grey. The Light Infantry and 40th Regiment were forced to leave their position; they retired on the village, eventually occupying a large stone building, which was immediately surrounded by a brigade of the Americans, supported by four guns. It was at this critical period that General Grey hurried into action with three regiments of his brigade. He led a vigorous attack against the besiegers of the stone house, drove them from the village, and followed them into the open country to the distance of eight miles.<sup>1</sup>

General Grey defeated the Americans at Whitechurch (fourteen miles from Philadelphia) in December, 1777. In conjunction with Sir W. Howe he attacked the enemy, who were commanded by Lafayette, on May 19th, 1778, but failed to bring them to a general engagement. The British suffered considerable loss and inconvenience from the depredations of the enemy's privateers, and in September, 1778, Sir H. Clinton, who at this time held the chief command in America, selected Major-General Grey to make a descent, with a fleet of transports, on a place called Buzzares Bay, the rendezvous of the privateers. This enterprise was planned with marked skill, and carried out with such rapidity that, by noon on the following day (September 6th), all the privateers and the prizes which they had captured, numbering in all seventy sail, were burnt or destroyed. General Grey also destroyed the towns of Bedford and Fairhaven, on the Acushnets River; dismantled a fort with eleven pieces of heavy ordnance, and blew up the magazine and barracks. On the return voyage, he called at the Island of Martha's Vineyard, and levied a war contribution of 10,000 sheep and 3,000 oxen, for the use of the army in New York.<sup>2</sup> He was promoted Lieutenant-General on November 20th, 1782; appointed a Knight of the Bath January 8th, 1783; and on January 11th, 1783, he was nominated to the command

<sup>1</sup> *History of America*, vol. vi., pp. 426-27, and *General Howe's despatch*, dated October 10th, 1777,

<sup>2</sup> *British Military Journal*, p. 166



of the forces in North America with the local rank of General. This command he held until transferred on September 2nd, 1793, to the command of an expedition which was being prepared at Barbados, for the conquest of some of the West Indian Islands. The fleet sailed from Carlisle Bay, Barbados, on February 3rd, 1794, and in a few weeks General Grey had taken Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadalupe. At Martinique he landed his army in two divisions on February 5th and 6th. The enemy fought bravely, contesting with the invaders every yard of the ground; but by the 12th the forts surrendered, and the island was in the hands of the British. St. Lucia was the next to fall, and thence General Grey sailed to Guadalupe, where he met and overcame a desperate resistance. Sir C. Grey was promoted General on May 3rd, 1796; and was appointed to the command of the Southern District (Portsmouth), on August 9th, 1796; Governor of Guernsey on August 12th, 1797; and a member of the Privy Council on October 4th, 1797. He was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Grey de Howick on January 23rd, 1801; and on April 11th, 1806, he was created Viscount Howick and Earl Grey.

In September, 1799, he was described as "a charming man, very animated, and for his time of life very handsome."<sup>1</sup> This distinguished soldier died on November 14th, 1807. His son, Charles Grey, was a member of Parliament for the county of Northumberland from 1786 to 1807. He led the Whig party in the House of Commons from the time that Fox was compelled to give up that post, by the illness of which he died, until he was himself called to the House of Lords; and was one of the managers (the youngest) at the trial of Warren Hastings.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dr. Burneys's Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed; at an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons at



He was at different periods, First Lord of Admiralty, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Prime Minister (1832-1834). He carried the great Reform Bill of 1832. On his death, which occurred on July 17th, 1845, he was succeeded by his son, the third Earl, who was a member of Parliament from 1826 to 1845, and was a Cabinet Minister for some years.

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the bar of the British nobility. To the generation which is now (1841) in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a grand age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost."—*Macaulay's Warren Hastings*. London, 1841.

NOTE.—There is a portrait of the Earl at p. 383 of the *History of America*, which has been previously quoted.



## GENERAL THOMAS CARLETON.

THOMAS CARLETON was a younger brother of Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, being the fourth son of Christopher and Catherine (*née* Ball) Carleton, of Newry. He was born in 1732, and, like his elder brothers, entered the army, his first commission (Ensign) bearing date February 12th, 1755. He was promoted Lieutenant in the XX on December 27th, 1755; appointed (by Wolfe) Adjutant of the corps, February 26th, 1756, and promoted Captain August 27th, 1759. Captain Carleton was present with the corps at the battle of "Minden," and the other engagements of the "Seven Years' War." In July, 1772, he was promoted Brevet-Major. He accompanied the regiment to Canada in the spring of 1776, and on the 8th May was appointed Quartermaster-General of the army in that province. Major Carleton was promoted Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel on July 31st, 1776, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 29th Regiment on July 22nd, 1777. During the pursuit of the Americans in the autumn of 1776, Colonel Carleton commanded the advance guard of between three and four hundred Indians.<sup>1</sup> He accompanied Burgoyne on his expedition in 1777, but returned to Canada in August, as Sir Guy Carleton required the services of his Quartermaster-General, preparatory to handing over his command, his successor being daily expected.

Campbell, in his *Annals of Tyrone County*, says:—"In the spring of 1778, Lafayette was stationed in Albany. In March he went up to Johnstown, from which place he wrote to Colonel Gansevoort a letter, dated March 6th, 1778. This letter was enclosed in a letter from Colonel Livingston of the same date, of which the following is an extract: 'Enclosed you have a letter from Major-General Marquess de Lafayette, relative to Colonel Carleton, brother to General Carleton, who has for sometime been in this part of the country as a spy. The General apprehends he has taken this route by way of Oswego, and begs you'll

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<sup>1</sup> Hadden's *Journal*, p. 19.

send out such parties as you may judge necessary for apprehending him.' The following is the letter of Lafayette: 'Sir,—As the taking of Colonel Carleton is of the greatest importance, I wish you would try every means in your power to have him apprehended. I have desired Colonel Livingston, who knows him, to let you have any intelligence he can give, and to join to them these I have got by a story about the dress and figure of Carleton. You may send as you please, and everywhere you'll think proper, and do every convenient thing for discovering him. I dare say he knows we are after him, and has nothing in view but to escape, which I beg you to prevent by all means. You may promise, in my name, fifty guineas in hard money, besides all money, etc., they can find about Carleton, to any party of soldiers or Indians who will bring him in alive; as everyone knows now what we send for, there is no inconvenience to scatter them in the country, which reward is promised in order to stimulate the Indians.

"I have, etc.,

" 'Signed) DE LAFAYETTE.' "

Colonel Carleton was not apprehended, but the value of his services can be estimated by the anxiety of the American Generals to effect his capture. In 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton had command at Montreal; he continued to serve in Canada till September 22nd, 1782, when he obtained Sir Frederick Haldinand's permission to go to New York, where Sir Guy Carleton was serving as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America. When the province of New Brunswick was created in 1784, Colonel Carleton was appointed its first Governor; and he arrived at St. John's, the seat of his new government, on November 21st, in that year. Colonel Thomas Dundas, a member of the Board of Commissioners for deciding upon the claims of American Loyalists, in writing about the country to the Earl Cornwallis from St. John's, New Brunswick, December 28th, 1786, says:—"Mr. Carleton, by his own attention and firmness, assisted by a well-chosen Council, has established good government." On May 2nd, 1783.

Colonel Carleton married Harriet, daughter of Van Horn, of New York, and widow of Captain Edward Foy, of the Royal Artillery, by whom he had issue a son, William, and two daughters. He became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 5th Regiment September 26th, 1788; Major-General. October 12th, 1793; Colonel Commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the 60th, August 6th, 1794; Lieutenant-General, January 1st, 1798; and General, September 25th, 1807. He died on February 2nd, 1817, aged eighty-five years.



## MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT ROSS.

ROBERT ROSS was born in 1766 at the family seat of Rostrevor, County Down. He was the son of Major David Ross, of Rostrevor, an officer who had served with distinction in the Seven Years' War, and we find that an ancestor, Colonel Charles Ross, was killed at Fontenoy in the year 1745. Robert Ross was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he matriculated on October 11th, 1784. He adopted the military profession, and received his first commission as Ensign in the 25th Foot on the 1st of August, 1789, when only fifteen years of age. He became a Lieutenant in the 7th Fusiliers on July 13th, 1791; and on April 21st, 1795, obtained his company in the same corps. On December 23rd of this year he was gazetted Major (by purchase) in the 2nd Battalion 19th Regiment, from which he retired to the half pay list. On August 5th, 1799, he exchanged from half pay to the XX Regiment, with which he continued to serve until promoted Major-General. Major Ross's first active service with the regiment was in Holland. At the intrenchments at Krabbendam his gallantry was conspicuously displayed, and he was severely wounded whilst bravely defending the earthworks. His wounds incapacitated him from further service in this campaign. He accompanied the regiment to Minorca in 1800, and was appointed to command the flank battalion of Light Infantry.

On January 1st, 1801, Major Ross was promoted Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel for service in Holland. In 1801 he proceeded to Egypt with the regiment, and took part in all the operations before Alexandria, until the final surrender of the French. Lieutenant-Colonel Ross succeeded to the command of the XX in September, 1803; and, in October, 1805, proceeded in command of the regiment to Naples with the expedition under Sir James Craig. While on the march, on reaching a town called Torre del Greco, Colonel Ross said to the officers before dismissing the regiment: "Pray, let number XX be uppermost in your thoughts; see it is well taken

care of first, and then attend to number *one* as much as you please. The expedition proved a failure, the troops evacuated the Neapolitan territory, and the XX were landed in Sicily. Major-General Sir John Stuart organised and landed an expedition in Calabria early in the following July, and the battle of Maida ensued on July 4th. Colonel Ross disembarked the regiment at daybreak on the 4th, and hurried to the scene of action. Their exploits at Maida are fully described in the account of that victory. The Adjutant-General to the army under General Stuart met Colonel Ross and explained to him the state of the battle. Ross caught its spirit in an instant:<sup>1</sup> his manner of bringing the XX into action was the event of the day. It has been generally conceded that no one more prominently contributed to the defeat of the French than Colonel Ross. For his services at Maida he received a gold medal, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the King with the Brevet rank of Colonel in the army.

Colonel Ross returned to England with the regiment in October, 1807. In July the following year he proceeded in command of it to Portugal, landed with the headquarters after the battle of Vimeira, marched with the regiment to the frontiers and took possession of fortresses evacuated by the French under the articles of capitulation. On the completion of this duty he joined the army under Sir John Moore. Colonel Ross commanded the XX during the retreat to Coruña: the regiment formed part of the reserve, and often the rear-guard.

For steady discipline and patient endurance under great privations, sufferings, and hardships, the XX was an example to the army, and the credit is due to its commanding officer. One reminiscence of the Adjutant's (Lieutenant Wade), is worth recording. On the evening of a day of exceptional hardship, toil, discomfort, worry with stragglers from the main divisions of the army, and continual skirmishing with the French, one of their raids having been just repelled, Sir E. Paget, the commander of the reserve, said, "Well, Ross, you are the most comfortable warrior a man could wish to serve with. His

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<sup>1</sup> *Narratives of the Great War*, p. 247.

system was humane and consistent ; he warned and guarded his men from temptations, considered and provided (often from his private purse) for their comfort, he encouraged them by his lofty example, and never failed to praise their efforts. In addition to the many skirmishes and engagements during the retreat, he commanded the XX at the battle of Coruña and afterwards brought it to England. When Colonel Ross had completed and reorganised the regiment, it joined the expedition to Walcheren, where it was decimated by fever, and returned to England in September, 1809, a mere shadow of the regiment that had left a few months previously. About 1809 a sword was presented to Colonel Ross by his brother officers in honour of Maida. For a second time within twelve months Colonel Ross filled the ranks of the XX, but it was not till after prolonged residence at country stations, that the effects of the Walcheren fever entirely disappeared. In the autumn of 1812, the XX again sailed for the Peninsula, landed at Lisbon, and marched to the frontiers of Portugal.

On June 4th, 1813, Colonel Ross was promoted Major-General, and appointed to the command of the Fusilier Brigade in the 4th Division, in which brigade the XX was serving. At the battle of Vittoria (June 21st, 1813), he commanded the brigade, and also in all the subsequent battles and engagements (except Toulouse) of the war. His foresight, energy, and intrepid constancy<sup>1</sup> probably saved the army from surprise and destruction at Roncesvalles, on July 25th, 1813. At the battle of Sorauren he greatly distinguished himself. He repulsed several desperate attacks, had two horses shot under him, and was specially mentioned in the Duke of Wellington's despatches.

Through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Wellington bore testimony, "that General Ross's brigade distinguished themselves in the Pyrenees beyond all former precedent."<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii., p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> See General Bainbrigge's narrative.

<sup>3</sup> Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, November 14th, 1814.



following letter,<sup>1</sup> from General Ross to a near relative, deals with the fighting in the Pyrenees:—

“ Heights above Eschalar, in the Pyrenees,

“ August 3rd, 1813.

“ My dear Ned,—Since my last, I have neither eaten the bread of idleness, nor has the grass grown much under my feet. On the 18th ultimo, having completed matters for our friends the Dons, towards carrying on the siege of Pampeluna, we withdrew from that place, and marched towards the frontier, taking post near Roncesvalles, famous for feats in the days of chivalry. Our division (Sir Lowry Cole's), with two other brigades and some Spaniards, occupied that and some neighbouring posts. Soult having been sent to wipe off the disgrace of Vittoria, bringing with him strong reinforcements, attacked us on the 25th, and, after a hard day's fight, by dint of superior numbers, obliged us to retire—which was safely effected, not without bloody noses—to the neighbourhood of Pampeluna, on the morning of the 27th. In the business of the 25th our (the XX) loss was considerable. Old Wallace, Bent, Oakley, Crockat, Walker, Smith (all of whom I believe you know), Champagne, and Thompson, wounded. Buist, the Adjutant, killed, with one hundred and thirty (sergeants, rank and file) killed and wounded.

“ On the following day, Soult made his grand effort for the relief of Pampeluna, at about eleven o'clock, attacking the right and left of the position held by our division. His attack was conducted with great vigour, but without success; our push with the bayonet, where the enemy gained a post, was irresistible. At length, finding himself foiled in every attempt, after a very considerable loss, not less, certainly, than from two to three thousand men, he retired, and on the 30th was in full retreat. From that to the 2nd, our pursuit was equally hot; the number of prisoners taken will probably amount to three or four thousand. The total loss of the French, from the period of re-entering Spain until the 2nd, when they returned to France, is estimated to be from sixteen thousand to seventeen thousand men; add to which the complete *corv* under which their army is,

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<sup>1</sup> Published in the *United Service Journal*, p. 412, 1829.

being twice defeated, and latterly under the command of their very best General, sent for the express purpose, with fresh troops, to thrash us. The latter proceedings are more glorious, and in their consequences more eventful, than the brilliant business of June 21st, at Vittoria. Poor Falls, my aide-de-camp, was wounded on the 28th, not, I trust, dangerously. On the 1st and 2nd we were at them again. We (XX) have lost, killed and wounded altogether, two hundred and sixty-three (sergeants, rank and file). I am perfectly well."

At the battle of Orthes, on February 27th, 1814, General Ross, with his brigade, five times carried the village of St. Boës, and as many times pushed the battle beyond it, until he was severely wounded and carried from the field. In his despatch announcing the defeat of the French at Orthes, the Duke of Wellington said, "I have to express my warmest approbation of the exertions of the gallant General Ross, of whose services I was unfortunately deprived very early in the battle."

In a private letter, of which the following is an extract, General Ross informs his correspondent of the events of the day, and tells in simple language of the affectionate attachment of his wife, and how she hastened through danger and privations to the side of her wounded husband. The incident stands in strong resemblance to the devoted heroism of Lady Harriet Ackland, in the campaign of Saratoga:—

"St. Jean de Luz, March 12th, 1814.

"My dear Ned.—You will be glad to find that the hit I got in the chops is likely to prove of mere temporary inconvenience. I am doing remarkably well, and trust in two or three weeks to be again equal to the fight. My letter to Eliza, which she sent to you, will have reached you I hope in time to quiet your apprehensions respecting me. She is now at my elbow, having on the receipt of mine mounted her mule, and in the midst of rain, hail, mud, and all other accompaniments of bad weather, set off from Bilbao for this place, which she reached early on the fifth day, a distance between eighty and ninety miles, over snowy mountains and bad roads. Her anxiety and spirit carried her through, enabling her to bear fatigue without suffering from

cold or bad weather. Our little boy is left at Bilbao with his nurse; he is an uncommon fine fellow, and would hold hard fight with the *King of Rome*. He and his establishment are to join us as soon as the weather admits of movement by water. I was wounded early in the affair of the 27th, so that I personally could be but little acquainted with the proceedings of the day, which were highly advantageous to us.”<sup>1</sup>

General Ross was not sufficiently recovered from his wounds to take part in the operations subsequent to the battle of Orthes, which was his last act of service in the Peninsular war, and here also ended his personal connection with the XX. He received the gold medal for Vittoria, and the Peninsula gold cross. On the conclusion of the war with France, in April, 1814, England was at war with the United States. The Government decided to send an expedition to Chesapeake, and the Duke of Wellington was desired to select a General to command. His Grace chose General Ross, and, although scarcely recovered from the wounds received at Orthes, he accepted the appointment.

On June 1st, 1814, he embarked on board the “Royal Oak,” seventy-four-gun ship, commanded by Captain Dax, and sailed the same day for America. General Ross landed his troops (four thousand five hundred in all, including marines—they had three light guns and some rockets), and marching direct upon Washington, arrived on August 24th, in front of the Heights of Bladensburg, a village situated on the eastern branch of the Potomac, about five miles from Washington. The American army (six thousand men, under General Winder, was drawn up in order of battle to receive them. The bridge, which was the key to the enemy’s position, was defended by a flotilla and all the enemy’s artillery, 26 guns, under Commodore Barney. Led by Ross, the British carried the bridge, Barney was wounded, taken prisoner, and fifteen guns were captured. Ross then attacked the first line of the Americans, and tumbled it back on the second: before either could recover he sent the whole of his force against them with the

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<sup>1</sup> Published in the *United Service Journal*, p. 414, 1829.

bayonet in front and on both flanks. This charge was irresistible; the enemy at first yielded, and then fled in one confused mass from the field. The defeat was complete. General Ross had one horse shot under him. After allowing his troops a brief rest, he marched on Washington, and entered the city about eight p.m., as the shades of night were falling. As they passed the straggling outskirts of the town, a volley was fired from the windows of two houses. Ross narrowly escaped being shot, and his horse was killed. The houses were forced and the men who had fired made prisoners.

In a private letter General Ross says:—"So unexpected was our entry and capture of Washington, and so confident was Madison (President of the States) of the defeat of our troops, that he had prepared a supper for the expected conquerors; and when our advanced party entered the President's house they found a table laid with forty covers. The fare, however, which was intended for *Jonathan*, was voraciously devoured by *John Bull*, and the health of the Prince Regent, and success to His Majesty's arms by sea and land, was drunk in the best wines, Madison having taken to his heels and ensured his safety on the opposite bank of the river by causing the bridge to be broken down."<sup>1</sup>

The following gratifying testimony of the ability and character of Ross appears in the despatch of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane:—"On combined services, such as we have been engaged in, it gives me the greatest pleasure to find myself united with so able and experienced an officer as Major-General Ross, in whom are blended those qualities so essential to promote success where co-operation between the two services becomes necessary; and I have much satisfaction in noticing the unanimity which prevails between the army and navy."

General Ross paid the greatest respect to private houses and property in the captured city, but ordered the destruction, by fire, of the capitol, senate house, house of representatives, arsenal, dockyard, treasury, president's residence, and the great bridge across the Potomac. Competent authorities have com-

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<sup>1</sup> *United Service Journal*, 1829.

puted the value of the property thus destroyed at two million pounds sterling. Very considerable difference of opinion has been expressed as to whether these severities were not too rigorous, but as this contingency was definitely provided for in his instructions, the Commander-in-Chief was necessarily exonerated from blame or censure. A member of the House of Commons stated "that he regretted that General Ross had been selected as the individual to execute the plans of vengeance (destruction of Washington) of the Government."<sup>1</sup> The success of the attack on Washington was all the more creditable to General Ross as he was enjoined by his instructions "not to attempt anything that *might be attended* with the want of success."<sup>2</sup>

In *The Art of War*, at page 385. Baron de Jomini says, "The world was astonished to see a handful of seven or eight thousand<sup>3</sup> Englishmen making their appearance in the midst of a State embracing ten millions of people, taking possession of its capital and destroying all the public buildings—results unparalleled in history."

The operations against Washington had so important an effect with the Americans that they were the more inclined to peace, and thus to free England from a war which was irritating and difficult when the forces of France had to be opposed. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were unanimously voted to General Ross for the capture of Washington, and the regiments employed received permission to have *Bladensburg* enrolled on their colours.

General Ross left Washington on August 27th, and turned his attention to the city of Baltimore, which he intended to attack. The fleet, with the troops on board, anchored off North Point, about thirteen miles from the city, on September 11th.

On the following day (12th) all the troops and marines,

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the House of Commons*, November 14th, 1814.

<sup>2</sup> Private letter from General Ross to his wife. This letter is in the possession of his grandson, Colonel John Ross, of Bladensburg, late Coldstream Guards.

<sup>3</sup> The correct number was four thousand five hundred.



numbering about four thousand men, disembarked and marched towards Baltimore. The route lay through an impenetrable wooded country, and riflemen might be concealed in every thicket, invisible except to the eye of an Indian. General Ross and Admiral Cockburne were both with the light troops in front of the column. At a sudden turning in the road a corps of the enemy was observed, whose right was supported by a wood which lay on our left; into this wood the enemy's right extended. A fire was opened simultaneously upon our advance by these troops, and by half a dozen rifles in a copse to our right. It was here that the gallant Ross received his mortal wound; the ball passed through his right arm into his breast. The advancing soldiers knew their General had been struck down, as his horse, with an empty saddle, dashed passed them a few moments later, and they passed the dying hero, as he lay under a tree, his life blood welling away.<sup>1</sup> He was carried to the boats at North Point, but expired before they were reached.

The last moments of this distinguished soldier are thus described by Admiral Cockburne in his despatch to Vice-Admiral Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, dated H.M.S. "Severn," September 15th, 1814. They show what a noble, unselfish man he was; he had not a thought of his own pain and sufferings, but all his anxiety was for those whom he was leaving. "It is with the most heartfelt sorrow I have to add that in this short and desultory skirmish my gallant and highly valued friend the Major-General received a musket ball through his arm into his breast, which proved fatal to him on his way to the waterside for embarkation. Our country, sir, has lost in him one of its best and bravest soldiers, and those who knew him, as I did, a friend most honoured and beloved; and I trust, sir, I may be forgiven for considering it a sacred duty I owe to him to mention here that whilst his wounds

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<sup>1</sup> An officer who was present says: "It is impossible to conceive the effect which this melancholy spectacle produced throughout the army. All eyes were turned upon him as we passed, and a sort of involuntary groan ran from rank to rank, from the front to the rear of the column."  
—*Narrative by an Officer*, pp. 174, 175.

were binding up, and we were placing him on the bearer which was to carry him off the field, he assured me the wounds he had received in the performance of his duty to his country caused him not a pang; but he felt alone anxiety for a wife<sup>1</sup> and family dearer to him than his life, whom in the event of the fatal termination he foresaw, he recommended to the protection and notice of H.M. Government and the country." Of him it may truly be said that

He sank to rest,  
By all his country's wishes blest.

According to an officer who was present at Baltimore, "The death of General Ross, in short, seemed to have disorganised the whole plan of proceedings, and the fleet and army rested idle, like a watch without its mainspring."<sup>2</sup> The body of the General was placed on board H.M.S. "Tonnant," and conveyed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where it was accorded a public funeral on September 29th. A monument was raised to his memory by the officers of the garrison.

If General Ross's services in America can be measured by the rejoicings of the enemy over his death, they were indeed great. On the news being known the most enthusiastic exultations were manifested in Baltimore; at least a dozen men claimed the honour of having shot him, and the same number of rifles were exhibited as the identical weapon from which the fatal ball had been fired.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Ross had a presentiment that she never would see her husband again. She felt his being sent to America acutely. The General's letters from America were chiefly devoted to comforting and consoling her. He concludes one by saying, "This war cannot last long; we then meet *never* again to separate." On both sides the letters are couched in terms of the warmest affection.

<sup>2</sup> *Narrative of the Campaign at Washington*, p. 200, by an Officer, who served in the Expedition. London, 1821. By some authorities, the authorship of this work has been assigned to a former Chaplain-General, Rev. Mr. Gleig. Mr. Gleig served at Washington and Baltimore as a subaltern in the 85th Regiment.

<sup>3</sup> A monument was erected on the spot where General Ross fell, to the memory of the man who shot him. It bears the following inscription :—



At the opening of Parliament on November 8th, 1814, in the speech from the throne, the Prince Regent referred to his distinguished services, and the loss the country had sustained by his fall. His Royal Highness had ordered the insignia of a Knight Commander of the Bath to be forwarded to General Ross, but his decease previous to their arrival caused them to be returned; with considerate kindness the Prince ordered them to be delivered to his widow, and at the same time commanded that the family designation should henceforth be *Ross of Bladensberg*.<sup>1</sup> This distinction is unique, and was, perhaps, the best conceivable way of transmitting to posterity the name and services of a distinguished commander. This distinction was given by a Royal Warrant dated August 25th, 1815, as a memorial of his "loyalty, ability, and valour." Memorials have been raised in the United Kingdom to his memory by the nation, the division of the army that he had commanded, and by the XX.

In seconding a resolution for the national monument, a

ERECTED BY THE FIRST MECHANIC VOLUNTEERS

TO THE MEMORY OF

AQUILA RANDALL, AGED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS,

WHO DIED

IN BRAVELY DEFENDING HIS COUNTRY AND HIS HOME.

On a third side—

IN THE SKIRMISH WHICH OCCURRED AT THIS SPOT

BETWEEN THE ADVANCED PARTY

UNDER MAJOR RICHARD K. HEATH, OF THE 5TH REGIMENT, M.M.,

AND THE FRONT OF THE BRITISH COLUMN,

MAJOR-GENERAL ROSS, THE COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FORCES,

RECEIVED HIS MORTAL WOUND.

—*A Subaltern's Furlough*, by E. T. Cooke, Lieutenant 45th Regiment. London, 1833.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the family designation being ordered to be *Ross of Bladensberg*, the following augmentation was made at the same time to the family arms:—Additional crest or badge: General's arm, with laurel wreath round it, issuing from a mural crown, grasping the broken flag of the United States. Additional motto: Over the additional crest, "Bladensberg."

member of the House of Commons<sup>1</sup> did justice to his character in a few but appropriate terms: "In private life his goodness of heart, coupled with a peculiar kindness and urbanity of manner, secured the regard and esteem of all who knew him. Never was an officer so universally and sincerely lamented by those under his command. He possessed the happy skill of conciliating by his disposition, and instructing by his example: his military knowledge was great, for it was the result of practice and constant experience, whilst his foresight and example in the field were such as to excite the enthusiasm and reverence of those whom he led to victory."

In the national monument, which is tabular, there is little to admire. Britannia is represented weeping over the tomb of the departed warrior, on which an American flag is being deposited by a nude figure of Valour, while Fame descends with a wreath of laurels to crown the hero's head.

The officers, naval and military, of the Chesapeake army, together with the noblemen and gentlemen of the County Down, subscribed the sum of £2,337; from this amount a monument was raised at Rostrevor; it is a granite column, and forms a very prominent landmark on entering Carlingford harbour.<sup>2</sup>

A third honourable and sincere memorial of affectionate sorrow was erected in the Parish Church, Rostrevor, by those who had enjoyed the privilege of serving under his command in the XX. Influenced by sentiments similar to those which unite the members of a family with their parent, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates joined together to testify and record their feelings of esteem and regret for their late commanding officer.

General Ross has been compared to many illustrious soldiers, notably, Wolfe, Moore, and Desaix (called by the Arabs over whom he ruled the "Just Sultan," and by Napoleon pronounced

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<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the House of Commons*, November 14th, 1814.

<sup>2</sup> The caretaker of this monument was for many years Andrew Robb, a veteran soldier of the XX. He had served in the campaigns in Holland, Egypt, Calabria, and the Peninsula, under General Ross. Robb died in 1856 or 1857.

the truest and most disinterested soldier of Republican France); but in these pages we prefer to trace and record the many phases of character, and incidents of service, which are in close resemblance to those of the "Immortal Wolfe."

Both these distinguished officers served in the XX, with an interval of rather more than forty years between them, as Major and Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding—in the last named position for eight and ten years respectively—and both, by their superior ability, splendid example, and judicious practice, trained the regiment in that system of discipline, and nurtured that *esprit de corps*, which have raised the XX so high in the annals of British infantry. Wolfe and Ross were XX officers in something more than name, and never failed to remember the regiment by which they had been aided to rise to high commands. Ross, like Wolfe, died young, on the field of battle, at a critical moment, and on American soil; they both had one glorious fault—namely, an excess of courage.

Lord Bathurst wrote to the Duke of Wellington (21st October, 1814): "Major-General Ross does credit to your Grace's school."

The following particulars of General Ross's family are not without interest. General Ross married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Glascock, Esquire; this heroic lady survived her husband many years, and died on the 12th of May, 1845. Of their five children, the eldest, David Ross, of Bladensburg, was born 24th September, 1804; and married, firstly, Sarah, only daughter of William D. Delap, Esquire, and secondly, in 1843, the Honourable Harriet M. Skeffington, by whom he had three sons—Robert S. Ross, of Bladensburg; Colonel John F. G. Ross, of Bladensburg, late Coldstream Guards; and Colonel Edmund J. T. Ross, of Bladensburg, late Royal Engineers.

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NOTE.—A portrait of General Ross forms the frontispiece of the second volume of this work. It was presented to the author by the late Major R. B. Blunt, and is a copy of a portrait in the United Service Institution, Whitehall.

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD SEATON, G.C.B., G.C.H.,  
G.C.M.G., K.T.S., K.S.G., K.M.T., Etc.\*

"Lord Seaton was certainly the noblest type of a soldier that I have known. . . . Mildest, kindest, gentlest of human beings; clear-headed, calm, vigorous in mind as he was strong in body, he was always my idea of a soldier. In speaking to him you felt that the good unworldly being you were talking to was the same gallant spirit who had headed the 52nd at Ciudad Rodrigo, and had taken part in all the desperate actions in which that heroic body fought."—*Sir William Fraser. Words on Wellington*, 1889.

"Colborne, a man of singular talents for war."—*Sir W. C. F. Napier. History of the Peninsular War*.

"The master in the art of outposts, under whom I learned more in six months than in all the rest of my shooting put together."—*Sir Harry Smith. Cape of Good Hope, March 2nd*, 1832.

"I had a good letter the other day from Lord Seaton. These men and their fellows . . . I hold to be the foundation stones of England. In them is incarnate the sense of duty and obedience as a fixed habit, not a sentiment or conviction, as the people say, but a true witness of the Omnipotent who wills it thus."—*Major-General Charles Beckwith, Jan. 27th*, 1855.

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JOHN COLBOBNE was the youngest child of Samuel Colborne, of Lymington, Hants, and Cordelia Anne, daughter of John Garstin, of Leragh Castle, Ballykerrin, Westmeath. He was born on the 16th February, 1778, and at the age of seven years, adversity having overtaken his father, he was admitted into Christ's Hospital; and four years later (January 29th, 1789) he was removed by his step-father, the Reverend Thomas Bargus, to Winchester. On entering Winchester School his position was

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\* NOTE.—For most of the particulars of the early period of this sketch, the author is indebted to W. G. Moore Smith, M.A.

100th out of a 109 boys; when he left in July, 1794, he was a prefect and in the first chamber. As a boy he was not brilliant, and it is said that his "spirit and ability were chiefly shown in building and defending snow forts." He was at first intended for Holy Orders, and throughout his life, at periods when the reverse was the fashion, he was remarkable "for a deep sense of religion and purity of mind, manners, and language."

John Colborne rejoiced that the army was chosen as his profession, and at the age of 16 years, on July 10th, 1794, he received his commission as ensign in the XX, and on September 10th, 1795, he was promoted Lieutenant. Colborne did not join the XX until October, 1796, when it was quartered at Exeter on its return from the West Indies. The young subaltern was over six feet high, and very handsome, and as he was of an amiable and affectionate disposition it can be safely assumed that he was popular with his brother officers. His first interview, on joining, with his Colonel he never forgot. Late in life he often related it: "When speaking to me he pointed to an officer and said, 'There, sir, that officer was shot through the body, and was all the better for it; there's encouragement for you.'" From 1796 to 1799 he served with the regiment in various towns in England. In the summer of the latter year the XX received orders to join the expedition to Holland, and Lieutenant Colborne was detailed to proceed to Windsor to receive over Volunteers from the Staffordshire Militia. The division was concentrating at Barham Downs, and here the regiment was divided into two battalions, Lieutenant Colborne being posted to the First, which was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel George Smyth. In his very first command on active service he was highly commended by Colonel Smyth for throwing up an entrenchment in a good position and repulsing a detachment of the French, who made a night attack on the outpost. In this auspicious manner began a long and exceptionally brilliant career on the battlefield. He took part in the battle of Krabbendam, where he was wounded in the head. In the early days of his service he was, as he used to say, a "wild fellow," but this wound sobered him. From this time onward

he was conspicuous for his extreme abstemiousness, and for his abstention from the fashionable habit of swearing. Hearing, while in hospital with his wound, that a battle was impending, and although the wound in his head was still open, he left the hospital where he had been for three weeks on milk diet, and walked a distance of twenty miles, joining the regiment in time to take part in the battle, fought on October 2nd. (Egmont op Zee.) On Captain Powlett being wounded, Lieutenant Colborne was selected by Colonel Bainbrigge to command the Light Company, and in this position he took part in the battle of October 6th. Twice he had been shot through the cap, truly hair-breadth escapes. He accompanied the regiment on the expedition to Belle Isle, and was stationed with it at Minorca, where he was seriously impressed with the days he had wasted. He says: "I am now astonished, on reflection, how I could have thrown away so much good time, and as activity of mind gives life to the most dreary desert, so I am willing to convert this dull fortress into a social world." (How many might take these words to heart with profit.) He accompanied the regiment to Egypt, and took part in the siege of Alexandria, making the most of his time in Egypt by travelling. Knowledge in any form he sought for, and a few days before leaving Egypt he rode day and night, by himself, through all the Turkish camps. When he got back to Alexandria he found the regiment was to sail on the following day. Colborne went with it to Malta, and soon after arrival, having obtained leave of absence, in company with Major Ross and Sir Wm. Lumley, he made an adventurous tour through Sicily and Calabria. Both Ross and Colborne acquired an acquaintance with these countries which was of great use to them later. They travelled in uniform, which they found of itself to be a sufficient introduction, and made it an invariable rule to enter the best house in all the towns they visited. While the XX was stationed at Malta, Colborne studied hard, particularly at languages. On May 20th, 1802, he was promoted Captain, which he looked upon as a piece of good fortune, as the vacancy was caused by duelling, and it was not usual to allow these steps to be filled



by the promotion of an officer belonging to the regiment. After a three years' sojourn in Malta he left with the regiment on November 3rd, 1805, for Naples. Captain Colborne remained with the regiment until the battle of Maida, and fought with the main portion of the regiment under Colonel Ross. It is improbable that during, but certainly after, the battle, he was ordered to take the command of the Light Company. Captain M'Lean having been killed.

Colborne's pursuit of the French army, in command of the British advanced guard of 89 men, has been told from his own letters in the pages devoted to that period, and to the narrative of that daring and enterprising exploit there is nothing to add. From hardships he endured at this time, and the unhealthy position of the camp, he contracted a fever. Sir John Stuart was superseded in the command of the British forces in the Mediterranean by General Fox, and the latter appointed Colborne his Military Secretary. This was an act of selection by merit alone, and General Fox expressly informed him that "he owed his selection to the reputation and name he had acquired in the army." Thus was Captain Colborne brought into direct contact with Sir John Moore, who was second in command to General Fox. On General Moore succeeding to the command he requested Colborne to remain Military Secretary, and he served him with rare devotion in the various commands he held until the death of Sir John at Coruña. In his letters he discussed the whole position of affairs as they came under his observation, and that he was an impartial observer, and favoured no party, will be seen from this extract taken from a letter dated June 23rd, 1807:—"You have no idea of the imbecility of your Ministry. I mean both parties, for, believe me, there is very little difference in their conduct. The bad information they have of all this part of the world is incredible. The army has dwindled into nothing by the neglect of the late Ministers; no orders; no instructions for those in command how to act have been received from them. We are looked upon here as the supporters of an oppressive government, and I can venture to say, a more infamous one never existed." Though living in a



palace. Colborne slept on a hard, thin mattress, and lived abstemiously so that he would be fit for active service. He next relates an incident which reveals a loyalty to his chief so strong that even a close friendship of long standing with another could not shake: "We received the order to embark without being told where we were going. I was Military Secretary to Sir John Moore at the time, and Colonel Ross, a very great friend of mine, came to me and said, 'Can you tell me where we are going, or give me the least hint, whether east or west? It is of the greatest importance to me, for if we go east I shall leave Mrs. Ross here, but if west we may be off anywhere, and in that case I shall see her off for England directly.' I said, 'Of course I know where we are going, but I cannot give you the least hint; however, I will go and ask Sir John Moore if I may tell you.' So I asked Sir John Moore, and he said, 'Well, Ross is an honourable man; you may tell him.' We were going to Portugal."

Soon after the transports reached Gibraltar it was ascertained that the Royal Family of Portugal had fled to Brazil. Sir John Moore had now no alternative but to bring his force to England, and they arrived at St. Helen's on December 29th, 1807, after an absence for Captain Colborne of nearly eight years. On January 21st, 1808, he was promoted Major, and he endeavoured in the following March to arrange for the purchase of a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the regiment. But Major Wallace, who could not presumably do so, would not consent to a junior officer in the regiment passing over him, in fact he frankly told Major Colborne that he would rather see a stranger brought into the regiment than a junior pass over him. This was a great injustice to all the officers, and an injury to the regiment, in ultimately causing Colborne to leave it, or obtaining the promotion he wished to secure elsewhere.

Major Colborne went to Sweden in May, 1808, as Military Secretary to Sir John Moore, and narrowly escaped being detained at Stockholm by the mad King of Sweden. "His adventures were numerous and extraordinary." In July, 1808, he sailed for Portugal with the army, commanded by Sir H. Bur-

rand, to whom he acted as Military Secretary during the voyage. It is impossible to say if he had joined the regiment in time to take part in the battle of Vimiera, but it is more probable that he witnessed the battle as a staff officer to Sir H. Burrard. At the conclusion of the Convention of Cintra, Major Colborne was selected to carry to Elvas General Kellerman's order for the surrender of the fortress. He rode with ~~no~~ escort but that of his orderly. At Estimos he was mistaken for a French officer, and was hooted, missiles were thrown at him, and he was led in triumph into the town. The commandant refused to surrender without confirmation of General Kellerman's order, and Colborne had to make several journeys before the fort (La Lippe) was evacuated. By this time the regiment, under Colonel Ross, had occupied Elvas. Major Colborne obtained leave from Colonel Ross, and started alone to ride to Calanorra to visit the headquarters of the Spanish army, commanded by General Castaños. The selection of Sir John Moore to command the army in Spain and Portugal was a vindication of that officer that the army rejoiced in, and while Major Colborne was passing through a town called Albuquerque, on his adventurous journey, he was met by a British officer, who handed him a letter from Sir John Moore relating the change that had occurred. Within 48 hours his military secretary was at Lisbon.

Colborne was Military Secretary to Sir John Moore during his advance into Spain, and up to the death of that illustrious commander at Coruña, at whose dying request he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel.<sup>1</sup> He was now appointed to a garrison battalion, but obtained leave of absence and served with the Spanish army till after the fatal battle of Ocaña, where the Spaniards were destroyed by the French. On November 2nd, 1809, he was appointed to the 66th Regiment, and served with

<sup>1</sup> "I have made my will, and have remembered my servants; Colborne has my will and all my papers." As he spoke these words, Major Colborne, his Military Secretary, entered the room. He addressed him with his wonted kindness; then, turning to Anderson, said, "Remember you go to Willoughby Gordon (Secretary to H.R.H. the Duke of York), and tell him it is my request, and that I expect that he will give a Lieutenant-Colonelcy to Major Colborne; he has long been with me, and I know him to be most worthy of it." *Life of Sir John Moore*, vol. ii, p. 228.

it in General Hill's division. In the campaign of 1810 and 1811 he commanded a brigade. In May, 1811, he commanded a brigade of the 2nd Division, with two Spanish guns and two squadrons of cavalry to check the French, who were causing trouble on the Portuguese frontier, and in these operations he displayed great skill. By rapid marches and unexpected changes of position he completely foiled the French, and obliged them to evacuate the frontier towns and retire to Constantino. He very nearly effected the capture of a frontier post by riding up with a few officers and demanding its surrender. At the conclusion of these operations his brigade re-joined the army without any loss.

Colonel Colborne commanded a brigade at the battles of Busaco, Badajoz, Albuera, and the 52nd Regiment at Ciudad Rodrigo, where he was severely wounded while leading the stormers of the Light Division. He commanded the 2nd Brigade of the Light Division at the battles of Nivelles and Nive, and during the campaign of the Basque Pyrenees. At the battle of Orthes and Toulouse he led the 52nd Regiment. Colborne acquired a great military reputation in the Peninsular campaigns, and Napier describes him as a man capable of turning the fate of a battle, and one whose military judgment was seldom at fault.<sup>1</sup> In action he was cool, resolute, and full of resource. There is an instance at the battle of Nivelles when he was ordered (contrary to his own judgment) to attack the signal redoubt. Three times at the head of the 52nd did he assault it. They were covered by the steepness of the hill from the enemy's fire till within forty yards of it, when the rush was made; but on each occasion they were stopped short by a ditch thirty feet deep, protected by palisades. Resorting then to a ruse, he held out a white handkerchief and summoned the commandant, pointing out to him how his work was surrounded, and how hopeless his defence. The garrison surrendered, having had only one man killed, whereas Colborne had lost two hun-

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<sup>1</sup> *History of the Peninsular War*, by General Sir William Napier, vol. ii, p. 337.

dred men of the 52nd.<sup>1</sup> In 1814, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Prince Regent, and Military Secretary to the Prince of Orange, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in the Netherlands. He was promoted Colonel on the 14th June, and nominated K.C.B.

Colonel Sir John Colborne commanded the 52nd at Waterloo, and here performed a great feat of arms.

In the evening of this hard-fought day, but still long enough before sunset to leave time for winning, and even completing a victory, Napoleon made his grand effort.

Still holding that farm—La Haye Sainte—which his soldiery had wrested from the allies, he directed two columns of the Imperial Guard<sup>2</sup> (of which one was led by Ney) against the right centre of Wellington's line-of-battle; and, when these columns came up to within striking distance, the action reached its true crisis.

It is only, however, of the column encountered by Colborne that we here have to speak in more than a cursory way. When closely approaching the crest, this column had before it, at first, troops only undertaking the task of sheer defence, and it forced back some companies of a regiment on Colborne's left. Then Colborne, instinctively feeling that, his left being thus uncovered, he could operate more effectively by assailing the assailants than by any efforts of sheer defence, led forward his single battalion (extended in line) against the serried mass of the Imperial Guard, then also advancing to meet it; and, when so near his huge quarry as to be able to undertake the manœuvre, Colborne neatly "brought round the right shoulder" of a part of his line; and, whilst meantime not sparing the enemy's front, poured also a shattering fire into the left flank of the close, thick-set column. The column, thus doubly assailed by a single battalion, stopped, reeled, then fell back in confusion, pursued for a while by Colborne with his victorious 52nd.

The other column of the Imperial Guard encountered resistance of a different kind not connected with Colborne's opera-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 337

<sup>2</sup> Not "the old" but the "Moyenne Garde."

tions, but it was signally vanquished, and forced to retreat in disorder.

Occurring as it did in the sight of a large proportion of Napoleon's army, this double overthrow of the Imperial Guard, long victorious on the Continent of Europe, might well be taken to heart by the quick-witted troops of the French, ever swift to discern and appreciate a turning crisis in battle; whilst also—taking place at a time when other signs also pointed to the same conclusion—it showed the English Commander that now his moment had come. He ordered a general advance of his infantry line, and moved his cavalry flank-wise to the part of the field from which he intended to launch it.

Colonel Colborne meanwhile had advanced so far in pursuit that his regiment became somewhat isolated, and having before him fresh bodies of Napoleon's infantry which seemed to show a stout front, he brought his men to a halt. But one was at hand who in many a battle had learnt to divine the true mood of "the enemy" during moments of crisis. A rider came trotting down to where the 52nd stood halted—a rider unattended by aides-de-camp, yet being no other than Wellington himself. He spoke some words, simple and few to one who was the only chief of a single battalion, but words—if you think of the sequel—that sound as though fraught with victory, with the doom of Napoleon, with a peace (as between the great nations) strong enough to endure through an epoch of scarce less than forty years. The words, as we learn, were but these:—"Go on, Colborne, they won't stand." There yet was hard work to be done by tired men and jaded horses, but he who spoke the words seemed to know, and this indeed proved to be true, that the crisis of the battle had passed. The fact of Colborne having originated the decisive movement is abundantly confirmed.<sup>1</sup>

It is acknowledged by French authorities, and it brought him great renown. Sir J. Colborne commanded a brigade on the march to Paris. In 1821 he was appointed Governor of Guernsey, where he was the means of reviving the Elizabeth College, which had fallen into decay. On May 27th, 1825,

<sup>1</sup> Siborne's *Waterloo*, vol. ii, pp. 177-179.

he was promoted Major-General. On August 14th, 1828, he was nominated Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, held the appointment until June, 1836, and was subsequently created Governor, as well as Commander-in-Chief. On the eve of his return to England he received the appointment of Commander of the Forces in the two provinces of Canada, and suppressed the first rebellion in Lower Canada in November and December, 1837. On February 20th, 1838, he became administrator of the Government, on Lord Gosford ceasing to be Governor-General, and until the arrival of Lord Durham, May 29th. On Lord Durham's departure, 1st November, Colborne again became administrator, and put down the second rebellion in that month. June 17th, 1839, he received the commission of Governor-General, which he held until October 19th, 1839, and left Canada finally on October 23rd. He was promoted Lieutenant-General on June 28th, honoured with the Grand Cross of the Bath, and raised to the peerage as Baron Seaton in the following year. He was appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands from 1843 to 1849, and there he had during the revolutionary mania of 1848 to deal with the demands of a people continually disaffected. On March 24th, 1854, he was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Life Guards, and promoted General on the 20th June. Lord Seaton commanded the forces in Ireland from 1854 to 1860. The honours and distinctions conferred on him were the Grand Cross of the Bath, and of Hanover, and of St. Michael and St. George. The order of Maria Theresa of Austria, of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, and of St. George of Russia. The Waterloo medal; the gold cross and three clasps; the silver medal with five clasps. On the 1st April, 1860, he was promoted Field-Marshal.

Lord Seaton combined a singular charm of manner with a great modesty and hatred of pretence. He is an example of an officer rising by his own merits to the highest rank in his profession without the aid either of friends or influence. The first twelve years of his military career belong to the XX. In those days the regiment was the only training school for young officers. Colborne first acquired a reputation as an excellent regimental



officer, and thence he rose and added to it in every position in which he was placed. He ever held the XX in affectionate remembrance. At the presentation of colours to the 2nd Battalion, on the 1st August, 1859, he said, "In presenting these colours at your request, Colonel Radcliffe, I may be allowed to observe that, on entering the army, I was appointed to the XX, that I served my first campaign with it, and continued to share with it for many years the active service on which the corps was engaged. Early friendships and attachments leave the strongest impressions and associations, and you may imagine that I feel it almost a right to be preferred on this occasion for the duty you have proposed that I should undertake." The command in Ireland was Lord Seaton's last employment. He passed away peacefully, at Torquay, on the 17th April, 1863, aged eighty-six years. This account of his career cannot be more fittingly closed than by the subjoined extract from an obituary notice which was published at the time of his death:—"He was of the race of heroes who fought in the mightiest wars of modern times, who through those wars made England glorious and maintained her independence, and who have left us an example which is part of our heritage—part of our life."





## GENERAL BAINBRIGGE'S NARRATIVE OF RONCES- VALLES AND SAUOREN.

THIS brief account of the battle of the Pyrenees, and of the events immediately antecedent, was written from memory by him at the request of his children about forty years since. General Bainbrigge lost his arm in that engagement when in the XX Regiment<sup>1</sup>. The following corps composed the 4th Division in 1813, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, G.C.B.:—Right Brigade (Major-General Anson): 40th (1st Battalion), 48th (1st Battalion), and 27th (3rd Battalion) Regiments. Centre Brigade (Colonel Stubbs): Portuguese, 11th and 23rd Regiments of line, 7th Regiment Cacadores. Left Brigade (Major-General Ross): 7th and 23rd Fusiliers, XX Regiment, and one company Brunswick Oel Rifles. A weak provisional battalion composed of the 2nd Queen's, 53rd Regiment, one company 60th Rifles, a brigade of twelve-pounders, King's German Legion.

### MARSHAL SOULT'S EXPEDITION TO RELIEVE PAMPELUNA.

About the middle of the month of May, 1813, the divisions of the allied army quitted their winter quarters. The officers and men were all delighted at the prospect of once more leaving Portugal, and this proved to be their final adieu. From St. Jas de Piscara, the headquarters of the 4th Division, where my regiment had been cantoned, we descended the Douro to Almendra at the confluence of the Coa, and crossed the Douro to the province of Trassos Montes, using a sort of ferry boat, which was secured by a rope with pulleys slung across the river from bank to bank, and by the aid of which we were drawn over the rapid foaming torrent.

The division halted at Terre del route Corvo, part of our brigade being left to assist in dragging the guns up the steep

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<sup>1</sup> General J. H. Bainbrigge was a younger son of Colonel Philip Bainbrigge, who was shot at the head of the XX at Egmont-op-Zee on October 6th, 1799.

bank, which after much labour and perseverance was accomplished before night. A liberal supply of tents had been provided for this campaign, a decided improvement on the old system of bivouacking. We met no enemy until we reached the river Esla, where our Light Dragoons had an affair, and captured an advanced cavalry piquet. We crossed the Esla by means of a pontoon bridge, thence traversing Leon and Castile to the river Ebro. It might in truth be deemed an excursion of pleasure; to me it was so; and I pass over several trifling affairs in which we were engaged, the particulars of which I forget. The decisive battle of Vittoria was fought on the 23rd of June, 1813. After witnessing with deep interest Sir Rowland Hill's attack on the heights on the enemy's extreme left, where Colonel Cadogan of the 71st Highlanders was killed, our division passed the Zadora at the bridge of Nanclares, and the ground vacated by us was occupied by the Household Brigade of cavalry; we lay down under a bank by the river side, which covered us from the fire of a French battery. The round shot passed without doing any harm, but the shells from their howitzers pitched close, and a tedious half hour was beguiled in watching them explode; several of our men were hit by the splinters. At length our Portuguese Brigade was ordered to stand up and charge the battery; the guns were captured, and with them the colours of the 100th French regiment of the line. We then stood to our arms and advanced across the plain, sometimes in line, sometimes in column, but the enemy abandoned every position as we approached, before we could close with him, and as evening advanced his retrograde movement assumed the character of a total rout. The 4th Division did not enter Vittoria, but, leaving the city on the left hand, we pursued the retreating enemy, without halting, until it was quite dark.

The regular roads were impassable for troops, being literally choked up with guns, carriages, wagons, and baggage of every description. This very tempting booty was passed untouched by any of us, but it was not long before it was taken possession of and plundered by the Spaniards in our rear, or by camp followers and stragglers. I have heard it asserted, on good authority, that

upwards of one million sterling, in money and bills, was carried off by these people, and consequently lost to the victorious army as prize money. Silver coin in dollar (chiefly) was so plentiful for the first few days in our camp, that I recollect ten dollars (or five-franc pieces) being offered in exchange for a guinea or a bill of exchange on the agents. At daylight on the 22nd, we resumed our march; the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and Light Divisions followed the touch of the main body of the French army on the road to Pampeluna; and Sir Thomas Graham, with the left wing of the allies, pursued General Foy's corps towards St. Sebastian and Bayonne.

Few prisoners were taken, because the whole material of the French army having been abandoned at Vittoria, nothing remained to obstruct their retreat, which gave them the advantage in marching, and it behoved them to be quick in their movements, for they had no ammunition but such as was left in the pouches of the soldiers. The garrison of Pampeluna having been hastily completed by four thousand men, King Joseph hurried through the pass of Roncesvalles and halted at St. Jean Pied de Port, where he established his headquarters. Here the corps of the French army were reorganised and newly equipped, preparatory to taking the field again under the direction of Marshal Soult, who, having been commissioned by the Emperor as his Lieutenant, hoped to retrieve the reputation of the once invincible army, by forcing the allies to recross the Elbro and establishing his line on that river. On arriving near the walls of Pampeluna, Lord Wellington ordered the 7th Division, together with a corps of Spaniards, to commence the investment of that fortress, whilst he, with the remaining three divisions, pushed on towards Tafalla, in expectation of intercepting General Clausel's corps, which had been prevented joining the French army previous to the battle of Vittoria by the rapidity of our advance from Portugal, and now the overthrow and retreat of the King cut off this corps from the main army, and its present position was extremely critical. Clausel, an experienced General, well acquainted with the country and the population of this part of Spain, obtained due information of our near approach; he con-

sequently directed his course on Tudela and Zaragossa, abandoned some of his artillery, and, by incessant marching night and day, he succeeded in eluding his pursuers, and subsequently crossed the mountains by the pass of Iacca, and joined Marshal Soult at St. Jean Pied de Port in time to take part in the expedition to raise the blockade of Pampeluna. The 4th Division, forming part of the investing force, was then ordered to advance to the frontier. On arriving at Roncesvalles about the 20th July, we encamped near the villages of Espinal and Viscaret. Major-General Byng's brigade of the 2nd Division, Colonel Campbell's Portuguese brigade, and General Morillo's Spanish corps were at that time posted in our front; the 3rd Division was stationed at Olaque, a day's march in our rear. The 7th and Light Divisions had been sent far away to our left, to Vera, to cover the siege of St. Sebastian. Lord Hill watched the frontier about Mayor and in the valley of Bustan. The blockade of Pampeluna was now entrusted entirely to the Spaniards.

On the morning of the 24th July, Major-General Robert Ross, commanding our brigade, viz., 7th, XX, 23rd Regiments, and a company of Brunswick Oels riflemen, sent his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Thomas Falls, of the XX, accompanied by an officer of General Morillo's staff, from Espinal to ascertain whether artillery could pass from Roncesvalles to Zindour by the mountain road to Maya and Val Carlos, where Campbell's Portuguese were in bivouac; two Spanish regiments were at that time in front with a strong piquet occupying an old redoubt. The following notes, taken by my friend Lieutenant Falls, are interesting, and go to show how much was owing to the untiring energy and activity of the late lamented "Major-General Robert Ross." I have always been of opinion that to him chiefly credit is due for preventing a surprise on the morning of the 28th July, and preserving the allied army from a terrible disaster:—"On returning from Espinal to the front the sentries told me they had obtained a man who appeared very cautiously moving along the front, feeling his way towards our line of sentries. I gave directions for him to be sent to the Major-General under an escort. On my arrival at Espinal to report my observations on

the state of the roads, as well as on the manner the position appeared to me to be guarded, the General showed me a piece of soiled paper that had been sent to him by someone unknown, on which was written in Spanish, 'A good Spaniard begs to inform the officer commanding the advanced post that he will be attacked by a very powerful force to-morrow morning at half-past eight o'clock.'

"From the circumstance also of the spy having been sent in, and with a view of getting the XX and the 7th Fusiliers into the pass, the General told Brigade-Major Westcott and myself that he had determined in his own mind to push these two regiments forward, and give them some time to take a little rest, so as to enable them to be ready for any sudden work that might occur.

"The 23rd Fusiliers were to remain at Espinal, and not to move until they saw a white table-cloth hoisted on a sergeant's pike as a signal, when they were to move forward, and the baggage was to be packed and brought to the place where it had been proposed to form a camp, from the favourable report I had made of the ground compared with the filth of Viscaret, where a vast number of French soldiers had congregated after the battle of Vittoria, and died of typhus fever, heaps of their old clothing were still lying in the gardens adjoining. The monthly muster was to take place at five p.m., and commanding officers were then called upon to direct their men to lie down and take rest, so as at two o'clock in the morning we should march to the pass. I secured the Padrone of my quarter and placed a sentry at his window, and then lay down in my cloak before his bedroom door, having ascertained that he knew the very intricate pathway to the pass. We started at the appointed time; the road was very narrow and difficult to traverse, being intersected by fallen beech trees, so that we did not arrive at the top until seven o'clock. The whole of the position had the appearance of perfect quietness; the men in Colonel Campbell's camp were undressed, as we could observe with our glasses; they were certainly not on the *qui vive*, so that we concluded that the warning of our approaching attack was without the least foundation. The General and I then rode to the Spanish piquet

in the old redoubt (or field work thrown up on the occasion of some previous war); we got into the midst of this piquet of a hundred men at least, without having been challenged or of any of them being aware of our presence, though sentries were posted, and on General Ross remonstrating with the officer in command on his extreme negligence, he excused himself by observing 'Two battalions of the regiment of Toledo were in his front.' It turned out, however, on further inquiry, that these two battalions had moved off in the course of the preceding night, and without any intimation having been given to this piquet, or to the regiment belonging to General Byng's brigade posted in a dell to their right towards Roncesvalles. As everything appeared so perfectly quiet, the General desired me to write a brigade order on one of my cards, viz., 'Camp equipage and bullocks with ammunition to close up, and the whole of the brigade to encamp on the plateau near the springs.' I then gave the order to hoist the signal agreed upon, and was proceeding to send the order by the first available officer I could meet with of the brigade, when I heard the General's voice calling me back. He said, 'The enemy are this instant attacking Byng; tear up your card and write another order':—viz., 'The whole of the ammunition mules to close up; all spare mules to be sent up also with rum and biscuit; baggage to be packed and kept in readiness to move off to the position in the rear. Guides to be instantly secured in the village to point out the way to Major-General Anson's brigade, and to the Portuguese brigade of the 4th Division.' "

The light companies of our own brigade now moved forward under Major Rose, of the XX, and became quiet spectators of the attack going on against General Byng, on the extreme right. The XX got into position and then piled arms; the 7th Fusiliers were still labouring slowly up the mountain to join us, and the Light Companies in front had been ordered to lie down, when a sergeant of the Brunswick Oels company came near and said that he observed dust rising above the trees of the forest below us, towards Val Carlos. Not long after we could distinctly observe parties of the enemy in advance feeling their way



through the brushwood towards our front. About this time General Ross rode to our front and ordered the left wing of the XX to stand to their arms and to follow him up another path near the ascent of the mountain; the right wing with the colours remained below, but we moved forward to a place where our front was more contracted with thick copsewood on either flank. We lost sight of the left wing: they advanced some distance on a sort of table land above, when suddenly, in an undulation of the ground, they found themselves in the presence of a French column, the 6th Regiment *Legère* and in distant windings of the road to Val Carlos, glimpses of the French army were obtained in full march. No time was to be lost—decision was necessary—General Ross instantly ordered the wing to the right about, except the rear company, and he called on Captain Tovey, whose dauntless and impetuous spirit prompted him to seize this opportunity to distinguish himself, marched his company deliberately up to the French column, and gave the word to charge. Nobly did this little band of heroes obey their officer's command. They closed in upon their adversaries, who, for the moment, appeared paralysed by this sudden and unexpected assault. Many of their front ranks fell. One of our men bayoneted the French Colonel Commandant, and his bayonet broke off short at the socket by the violence of the pitch he gave after the thrust. In the confusion which followed, Tovey ordered his company to retire "double quick," and, strange to say, the majority of the men made good their retreat. The right wing stood ready to receive the pursuing enemy at the narrow part of the ridge below, having a dense thicket on either side. When the retreating wing and the stragglers of Tovey's company had passed, closely pursued by the French, their drums beating the "*Pas de charge*," their officers vehemently leading on their men, we opened a deliberate and deadly fire, which checked their onward course.

I do not think that one of their men who may have succeeded in getting past our line ever returned to tell the tale. No prisoners were taken that day to my knowledge. Before the true cause of the retrograde movement could be accounted for, I was



standing close to Major Bent, who commanded the Grenadiers, wondering what dire misfortune had happened, when Colonel Wade, Sir Lowry Cole's aide-de-camp, rode up and said: "My dear Bent, I entreat you on no account to yield an inch of this ground, or Byng and the Spaniards yonder will be cut off." Bent replied: "You know us, and may rely on our doing all we can." He did know us right well, for he had been our Adjutant, and he it was who taught me to mount guard. He perceived that all was right and, with a smile on his handsome countenance, galloped off.

The promise was fulfilled; we held our ground until our ammunition was expended, and then we were relieved by the 7th or 23rd Fusiliers (I am not sure which). Poor Bent (who was afterwards killed while commanding the regiment at the battle of Orthes) and two Lieutenants, Champagné and Crokat, were all severely wounded and carried off the field; leaving me at the close of this struggle and most important combat in command of the Grenadier company of one of the most distinguished of regiments—a proud position to be in for so young an officer. The wounded who could bear removal were immediately sent to the rear; several of the officers contrived to reach Vittoria, but Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, a fine old veteran soldier, died on the way. Having obtained a fresh supply of ammunition and the usual allowance of ration, rum and biscuit, we lighted fires and tried to make ourselves comfortable. These fires were kept burning all night, and after our departure; the object was to deceive the enemy, who thought we remained in position. Amongst others we had a very melancholy duty to perform here: a grave was dug beneath some stunted oaks, and the body of our Adjutant (Frank Buist) was laid in it, wrapped in his military cloak. We all regretted poor Buist, for he was a kind-hearted man, and he left a widow and family of young children to mourn their loss. (This bereavement I had been early taught to feel myself, and I can sympathise with those whose fathers fall in battle.) The wounded who were too much hurt to be capable of being removed from the ground, were collected and placed near the fires; small cards were then pinned on their jackets, having

a few words written on each in French, consigning them to the mercy of our gallant enemy. This appeal was strictly attended to.

As soon as it became sufficiently dark to screen our movements from the French sentries, the brigade was ordered to fall in silently, leaving a piquet with instructions to keep the men as much as possible walking about in front of the fires so as to attract the notice of any patrols of the enemy who might be on the look-out. We commenced our retreat from the Lindouz, the mountain where we bivouacked after the action, and a memorable night-march it was. A fog came on towards the evening of the 25th, whilst we were still engaged, and it hung on the mountains several hours after the sunrise next day; this enabled us to pursue our march unseen; and fortunate it was for us it was so, for, loaded as English soldiers always are, it would have proved no easy matter to ascend the very steep Mendichure Pass with a bold enterprising enemy like the French pressing on our rear, and the number of wounded multiplying, in fact difficulties appearing at every step. It became pitch dark as soon as we entered the beech wood, above the village of Espinal, and men frequently fell into deep holes or stumbled over roots and boughs of trees, and unavoidably tripped up others in their fall. These accidents, though trifling in themselves, caused infinite confusion and many tedious and vexatious halts. I find a difficulty in attempting to describe my feelings at the moment when the order was issued to fall in preparatory to the brigade moving off the ground. Wounded men knew they were to be left behind; poor fellows, they resigned themselves to their cruel fate without murmuring, contenting themselves with bidding farewell to their comrades and sending kind messages to their friends at home. The reflections produced in my mind on this occasion were rendered still more painful by the long and dismal howling of the wolves, scared from their usual haunts by the day's tumult in these wild and unfrequented regions. Instances of true friendship unquestionably exist in every corps on active service, yet I am inclined to think, when fighting becomes habitual, that self then becomes a predominant principle; the satis-

faction naturally experienced in having escaped one's self prevents the mind from dwelling long on the misfortunes of others. On getting into the Roncesvalles road a little before daybreak, we had well-nigh fallen into a scrape with the cavalry piquet belonging to the rear-guard of Major-General Byng's column, also in full retreat. We halted to enable our own piquet and the stragglers to come up; when this had been effected, we formed in sub-divisions at half-quarter distance and moved on again, the cavalry of General Byng's rear-guard being instructed that now they might look out for a real enemy and no mistake.

The French skirmishers came up with us at noon, and a squadron of light cavalry joined in the attack on our divisional rear-guard under an officer of the 48th Regiment; they experienced rather a rough reception and kept at a respectful distance during the remainder of the retreat. The rear-guard then joined the division which had got into position beyond the town of Lindoin. We were in march along this ridge in course of the evening, when Sir Thomas Picton met us. One of our men who knew Sir Thomas recognised the gallant General at a distance, and exclaimed, "Here comes old Tommy; now boys, make up your minds to fight." Sir Thomas held a folded umbrella in his hand; he rode up to Major Westcott, and in his usual blunt manner asked "Where the devil are you going?" "The division is retreating, sir, by Sir Lowry's orders," was the reply. "Then he's a d—d fool. Halt your brigade instantly, the 3rd Division is coming up." He passed on to find Sir Lowry Cole, who happened to be with the rear-guard at that moment. This sudden halt turned out fortunate for us; it had the effect of checking the enemy's advance. The French General might feel unwilling to fight until the cause of this halt had been ascertained; he might have been deceived as to our real strength; his infantry were up and his cavalry and artillery all through the passes. A vigorous attack therefore must have proved very hurtful to us, to say the least, and if successful, which I think it would have been, our line of retreat was so encumbered with baggage, strings of mules laden with commissariat stores, and other hindrances, that the consequences would

have been ruinous. We remained in this position till about midnight; in the meanwhile, Sir Thomas Picton had seen enough to satisfy himself that further retreat was necessary, and coincided with Sir Lowry Cole's view of affairs. As soon as it became dark, therefore, we were put in full retreat for the heights covering the approach to Pampeluna. We passed the 3rd Division, which now took the rear; and Sir Thomas Picton, as senior officer, took command of the entire force, which, including Spaniards and Portuguese, could not number less than 16,000 men. Nothing particular occurred during this march. The 4th Division proceeded down the valley of the Zuburi to about six or seven miles distance from Pampeluna, when it wheeled to the right and we moved along a mountain ridge, which stretches between the valley of the Zubiri and that of the little river Lanz, and screens the view of the level ground between it and Pampeluna. The 3rd Division passed on to the valley of Huarte and occupied the heights about that place. Whilst we were marching to take up our position, we had an opportunity of witnessing a novel sort of charge executed by a Spanish regiment belonging to the force investing the fortress of Pampeluna. A numerous party of the enemy's tirailleurs endeavoured to establish themselves on a hill occupied by the Spaniards; near our line of march, they ran vigorously at the French, who gave way as they approached; and our men declared that in the hurry they had neglected to fix their bayonets. They had a practical lesson afforded them next day on the use of that weapon, for Sir Lowry Cole, seeing the importance of retaining the hill, sent the 40th Regiment down to give them support; and this regiment remained in position there all night.

In the action on the ensuing day, it was conspicuous for many brilliant charges with the bayonet. Evening had set in when Lord Wellington had joined the retreating army. I can never forget the joy which beamed in every countenance when his Lordship's presence became known; it diffused a general feeling of confidence through the ranks. From that moment we had none of those dispiriting murmurs on the awkwardness of our situation, etc., etc., so common in our army whenever a retreat

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was ordered; now we talked of driving the French over the frontier again as a matter of course. Soon after reaching our halting ground, and after the companies had piled arms, Lord Wellington rode up to the head of the regiment, and, dismounting, took a spy-glass which was offered to him by one of our officers. He continued some time silently surveying the dark line of French troops moving along the brow of a hill, until Major-General Ross remarked that "this time Soult certainly meditated an attack." Without taking his eye from the glass, he replied, quickly, "It is just probable that I shall attack him." These words being overheard and repeated, we already felt confident of victory, only regretting that of necessity a night must intervene.

Lord Wellington, if I recollect rightly, was dressed in his usual grey frock coat, buttoned close up to the chin, and his little cocked hat, covered with oil skin, without a feather. There is certainly something peculiarly striking in the appearance of this great General: his quick glancing eye, prominent Roman nose, pointed chin, and compressed lip; altogether he impresses one with the idea of a more than ordinary man, and there can be no doubt that he does possess very largely that decision of character so essential in a commander. From Roncesvalles, the French army followed closely our line of march, until we turned from the right from the valley of the Zubiri, to take up our position on the Lanz; then their 1st Army corps, under General Clausel, wheeled also to the right and formed in position on a mountainous ridge, parallel with ours, their right extending to the village of Sorauren, in the valley of the Lanz, which they occupied in force. There was a deep valley or ravine between us, thickly studded with pine trees and bushes. In a direct line the two armies could not be more than five hundred yards apart, and the sentries of the piquets were within speaking distance. The two armies had so frequently been in the presence of each other, and accustomed to the same honourable system of warfare, that sentinels were seldom, if ever, molested on their posts; many harassing duties and alarms were thus avoided.

The mountains presented a picturesque and animating scene,



and as fuel was to be had for the mere labour of cutting, the bivouac everywhere resounded to the stroke of the bill-hook, fires were soon lighted, and water being within reach, our men commenced cooking their lean ration beef. The evening was calm and sultry, and it was a luxury to be enabled to stretch one's self on the sweet-scented thyme, so common in those mountains, and disencumbered of trappings, canteen. and haversack, the latter, however, very scantily provided. Though greatly fatigued after a long and tiresome day's march, I well recollect on this occasion I felt no disposition to sleep. I lay down to ruminate over the strange events of the last three days, and listening with more than interest to the *qui vive* of the French sentries. I had watched the quick promotion of several officers of my own standing in the army, whose regiments were in the Peninsula before we went out the second time. and now my dreams were all for advancement, to be placed on a par with them. With the light-heartedness of two-and-twenty, I was raised in my own estimation, in consequence of the command of the fine Grenadier company having devolved on me; many of the old hands of this splendid company (as it landed in the Peninsula) had served with my honoured father<sup>1</sup> in Holland. They looked on me, the son of one of their old commanders, with more than ordinary interest, and evinced a general readiness to serve me. I was not unmindful of their regard, but felt greatly attached to them for their kindness. In the course of the night we were visited by one of those terrific thunderstorms, so often remarked as the harbinger of victory to our army in Spain. It is remarkable that a similar tempest preceded the crowning victory of Waterloo. On the night before the battle of Salamanca also, a violent storm with vivid lightning occurred. Many of our cavalry troop horses took fright, broke away from their picket stakes, and galloped madly over the half-sleeping soldiers: many of them strayed into the enemy's lines, and several of these horses were recognised next day ridden by French staff officers. The rain now fell in torrents; in a few minutes all our fires were totally extinguished, the loud peals of

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Philip Bainbrigge.

thunder echoing back from rocks and ravines, became one continued roar; the lightning was so vivid that its flashes illuminated the surrounding hilly and wooded country, exhibiting in all their wretchedness the thoroughly drenched soldiers of both armies; many of them might be seen huddled together in small parties; others, rolled in their blankets or great coats, were apparently sleeping soundly, unconscious of the raging tempest. This, I apprehend, is a true picture of what frequently occurs when troops are "on bivouac," and it was exposed to view on this occasion by the vivid flashes of lightning. A splendid sunrise succeeded the midnight storm, and made amends for our comfortless nights; the men soon forgetting their troubles in the all-exciting employment of getting ready for the coming battle. The dress of several of our men, having undergone a change since last parade, caused a good deal of merriment amongst their comrades; these men had possessed themselves of some French Tirailleurs' trousers, and they considered this a fitting opportunity of wearing them. Our old threadbare greys had been terribly torn in the last hard work in the mountain passes. I remember when searching with a party for one of our wounded men (a fiddler), who fell amongst the bushes where we made our stand on the 25th, observing several dead bodies with bare legs, and now the mystery was solved. It is remarkable how quickly men slain in action are stripped, not by the soldiers, I imagine, but by the heartless camp followers, who make a trade of plundering the dead.

Bad men are never wanting in any army; these fellows quit their ranks on any trifling pretence, and take care to stop behind for the sake of plunder. Uniformity in dress cannot be adhered to in the field, before an enemy; our men had their clothes patched with cloth of all colours, anything they could get. The grand object of Marshal Soult's expedition was the relief of Pampeluna, which since the retreat of the French army, after the battle of Vittoria, had been invested, and now it was blocked by a Spanish force under the command of Counte de Brisfal.

The Marshal commenced the battle on the 28th July, by sending a column of infantry, preceded and flanked by numerous



skirmishers, down the valley on our left. The river Lanz flows through this valley, with the Argea, a larger stream. near the little town of Villalba. Pampeluna stands on the Argea. about two miles lower down. Soult had calculated probably on being able, by a rapid movement, to turn our left. and then open communication with the fortress, by a road running parallel with the stream. An immense convoy of stores of all kinds and of provisions followed the French army for the supply of the place, the whole of which fell into our hands a few days afterwards. At present circumstances seem to favour the attempt; if our brigade had been forced, and not stood its ground, the enemy would have encountered only a trifling opposition from the Spaniards, and he knew this well. The French Marshal had observed shortly before he put his troops in motion, reconnoitring between the village of Sorauren and the foot of our position, no British troops being discernible beyond our left; he was probably not aware of the near approach of another division to join us at this very critical moment.

Lord Wellington had reckoned on the junction of the 6th Division at an earlier hour: their march had been retarded by the thunderstorm. The delay was fatal to the French. The French army had been newly clothed and appointed since the battle of Vittoria, and though their greatcoats were worn over their uniforms, they nevertheless made a splendid appearance. Their columns swept down the valley at a rapid pace, exposed to a sharp fire from the 7th Portuguese Cacadores, under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Toole. This was an exciting time, one which I shall not readily forget. Thoughtless, no doubt, as young men usually are, yet I could not repress the idea that this day might prove my last on earth, and when the whizzing of passing bullets became more frequent, I think I had fully made up my mind to be hit. I have long been convinced that a man is not the worse soldier for being religious; indeed, I have heard of many proofs to the contrary; and I am willing to believe at a time like this (now described) I did commend the keeping of my soul to Almighty God, for I had been taught to think of the soul's inestimable value, and always to respect religion, by the precepts and

example of an affectionate and truly pious mother. Such feelings, however, at such a moment, can be but transient. The excitement caused by the passing scene engrosses attention, and all idea of personal risk (if it ever had any place) is banished from the mind, and a calm succeeds as at an ordinary "Field Day." Such, at least, was my experience. We did not wait long before our turn arrived. The Cacadores were very hard pressed, and the XX received orders to advance to their support.

The Colonel pointed to a chapel on the hill side overlooking Sorauren; we formed into sub-divisions of companies, right in front, and closed up to half distance. Just as I expected to be ordered to halt my company, for the regiment to deploy into line, Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope desired me to file off the Grenadiers to the right, saying, "You will enter the wood, and do your best to check the advance of the enemy's column now entering it from the other side of the valley." In giving this order to me, I have always thought the Colonel committed an error; the regiment could ill afford to spare its best company, though reduced in numbers by its exertions and losses on the 25th. On arriving at the edge of the wood, I passed through the line of our Light Company, telling Lieutenant Fitzgerald that I had instructions to proceed on and feel for the enemy. When half way down the hill, I first met the French advance party. I fancied they were taken by surprise, but soon perceived that I had to contend with old soldiers who knew their work thoroughly. We at once commenced firing, and I retired slowly up the hill, inclining to my right, files a little extended and defending every stone and tree; the enemy stretched out to his right and left, and increasing rapidly in numbers, was turning both my flanks. About this time I brought down one of the enemy myself; observing him stationed in a bush very close to me, I took a musket from the man next to me, aimed deliberately and fired; he disappeared, and I saw no more of him. I doubt whether these men were Tirailleurs, though they were acting as light infantry, for the one I fired at wore a bearskin cap, like Guards; they were some of the finest looking soldiers I ever saw. My men gradually closed into the centre, and we expected to be

quickly surrounded. for our enemies were gathering thick. Branches cut from the trees by bullets were falling fast around us. However, we still presented a bold front as we retired slowly upwards. On reaching the edge of the wood we found to our great joy, not an enemy, but a strong detachment belonging to Major-General Byng's brigade (the 27th or 48th, I did not ascertain which). Here I rallied my men. and, being well together, I determined on advancing again without communicating with the supporting detachment. The enemy fell back before us. Shortly after this advance, I received a musket shot through the elbow of my left arm, another ball struck me in the side, lodging in my back. It is possible the same bullet did all the mischief, as both wounds were received at the same time. I continued with my men as long as I was able to stand, when, becoming faint from loss of blood, I gave over the command of the company to a sergeant; and a corporal assisted me to the rear and placed me under the first bit of rising ground we came to, where I was sheltered from the enemy's fire. After this the company was forced up the hill again, then, uniting with the detachment before mentioned, the whole charged. The enemy turned when they heard the cheer, and both parties went down the hill together: in several instances friends and foes tumbling neck and heels over each other. The casualties were few, because our soldiers had been cautioned not to follow too far; when all was over, the few men who were left of this once fine company re-joined the regiment. My servant fortunately escaped, and in the course of the evening he joined me by desire of Major-General Ross; he related to me the last particulars, amongst other things that in the charge he had seen a Frenchman bayoneted fast to a tree. This must have been accidental, for there was nothing savage or cruel in our mode of warfare, quite the contrary. To revert to the period when I was detached with the Grenadiers, the company's column in the valley of the Lanz had proceeded downwards a considerable distance; then it was that the Portuguese skirmishers of the 6th Division were first observed coming over the brow of the mountains, on the opposite side of the river. We could not tell who

they were, but did not remain long in suspense, for they commenced a straggling fire on the enemy in the valley below. The 1st Brigade of the 6th Division issuing from the foot of the mountains forded the Lanz a little above the village of Oricana, and immediately formed across the valley, extending their right to the extreme left of the 4th Division, and, blocking the road, presented a barrier to the further progress of the French column. In the valley, another brigade of the same division formed on the right bank of the stream. When it is taken into consideration that a well-sustained musketry fire was now directed into the closed ranks of the enemy's advancing column from three sides at once, an idea may be formed of the consequent slaughter. The marvel is that any escaped. Marshal Soult now became convinced of the impossibility of breaking through our line of defence; and though the contest was continued for some time longer, I believe it was with the sole view of extricating the army from the difficulty. His gallant soldiers fought nobly, and did their best to win this battle for him; and they displayed a discipline and devotion very rarely met with in any army. On our side the action was fought chiefly by the 4th and 6th Divisions, and was severest where Ross's brigade was stationed. On both sides of the chapel, opposite Sorauren, the army made a succession of desperate efforts to establish themselves on our position, but no sooner did the attacking columns approach, and the dark moustached countenances of the men with their broad-topped chacoos appear through the smoke, than loud hurrahs made the forest ring again; and regiment after regiment, as opportunity offered or occasion required, charged with the bayonet; the ominous British cheer told what was coming and might have had some effect in checking the desire for a collision, but probably, in all corps, there are certain desperate fellows impelled by an impulse they cannot control, who run on to meet inevitable death. I must not omit to mention that the different regiments composing our brigade were separated from each other and acted independently; they did not form an unbroken line, owing, I presume, to the strong nature of the ground, and the extent of front which we were required to keep.

In one of the enemy's desperate assaults on our right, a Portuguese regiment of Campbell's brigade was over forward and gave way. The French followed up this advantage with their usual cries of "*en avant, en avant,*" and penetrated so far as to oblige General Ross to fall back. What an anxious moment this must have been, though I have been informed the result of the battle was never considered doubtful. The General's horse was killed under him, and Lieutenant Falls, his aide-de-camp, was wounded. I think Falls had been previously wounded near the chapel. Many instances of hand-to-hand conflicts occurred, the circumstances attending which I am unable to narrate. The 27th and 48th Regiments united attacked the enemy, who had obtained a temporary footing on the position, and, charging with their accustomed gallantry, recovered it. Lord Wellington, from the rocky eminence in the rear, had watched the combat, and was fully aware how much the Fusilier brigade had been outnumbered, and was not unmindful of it. He was heard to express repeatedly his warm admiration of their steady conduct. At the close of the action they were withdrawn. Major-General Byng took their place in front with his brigade. The 6th Division having moved considerably up the Lanz towards Sorauren, the French withdrew to their original position; thus ended the battle of the 28th July, 1813. It is called the battle of the Pyrenees. Another victory was gained near Sorauren on the 30th of the same month, and more fighting occurred before the enemy finally quitted the Spanish territory; yet the combat of the 28th decided the fate of the expedition to relieve Pampeluna and to recover the line of the Ebro. The result of that day's fighting was unexpected, and worked powerfully on the mind of Marshal Soult. Immediately after the conflict he determined on sending back his train of artillery to France, and thus probably saved it from capture. The fighting, while it lasted, was unquestionably severe, and I have heard it termed "bludgeon work." Our old fellows performed their duty nobly, each individual exerting himself with energy, as though the fate of the battle depended on his own prowess. This is the way the old "Two Tens" were accustomed to fight; mortal men could do no more.



The old XX was jocularly termed in the division the "*Young Fusiliers*," a compliment unquestionably; but at that period the regiment was composed of hardy old veterans, men inured to war in Holland, in Egypt, and Calabria, and in the Coruña retreat. Although composing part of the rear-guard, it lost fewer men by straggling than any other corps in Sir John Moore's army. On its return to the Peninsula in 1812, it was at the particular request of Sir Lowry Cole incorporated with the 4th Division and brigaded with the Fusilier regiments, "The men of Albuera." The XX was unfortunate in losing so many field officers:—Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace and Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope were killed in the Pyrenees; Major Rose in leading the stormers of the division in the breach of St. Sebastian; and Major Bent fell at the head of the regiment at the battle of Orthes, all within a few short months. To revert to the period of my being wounded, I may add that I lay for a considerable time on the spot to which I had been removed until a Portuguese medical officer, attached to the commissariat, came accidentally to the same place. He was mounted on a pony, and pitying my forlorn situation assented to the request that he should accompany me to the village in our rear; this kind-hearted man helped me to get into the saddle, and, leading the way, took me to the town of Villalba. I had no difficulty in procuring a quarter, the inhabitants having fled in terror, abandoning their homes for fear of a sortie from the garrison of Pampeluna. Several medical officers had established themselves in the place, and were examining and dressing the wounds of such as arrived there from the field of battle. I took possession of a room with a nice bed in it; and at night Major-General Ross came to see me. With his usual liberality, he threw his purse on the bed, desiring that I should take what money I required. This was the last time I had the happiness of seeing my much esteemed General, an officer beloved by every soldier who served under him. At the termination of the war with France, he was selected to command an expedition sent direct from the army to America; and he was killed near Baltimore, after a career of victory, very deeply regretted by all his friends.

and the nation at large. In him the army lost one of its brightest ornaments, for he was endowed with uncommon talent for military command, and was a brave and accomplished soldier. Sir Philip Bainbrigge, my brother, who was in the Quarter-master-General's department, joined headquarters from a reconnaissance at the close of the action; on inquiry he learnt that I was wounded, and contrived to find me out in the course of the night. He urged my speedy removal from Villalba, because another battle might be fought next day, and sorties from the fortress of Pampeluna were frequent. He provided me with a horse to carry me to the baggage camp, which was two leagues on the other side of Pampeluna, and, as I said before, General Ross sent my servant from the regiment to take care of me. Weak and suffering as I was it would have been far pleasanter to remain where I lay, but the bare idea of risking being made a prisoner, in the event of a successful sortie, enabled me to make the exertion necessary, and in the morning I commenced the journey: my shattered arm tied up in a sash, and my servant leading the horse. The baggage was reached in the course of the same day; here I found my own mule and baggage all right; but as there was no surgeon to examine my wounds, I decided on proceeding to Vittoria at once, which place I reached in five days more. At Vittoria I had the satisfaction of meeting the three officers of my own company, who had been wounded a few days before me. We were lodged together in the same house. My arm, from some unaccountable mistake, was not amputated until the 12th August; mortification had commenced, yet, through the mercy of God, the skill and unremitting attention of Staff-Surgeon Berry, and aided by a naturally vigorous constitution, I recovered. By the end of September, I was enabled to mount my horse and proceed to Bilbao, and embarked in October, on board a return transport for England. My wounds opened afresh on the voyage, which proved a most tempestuous one of five weeks. There happened to be no medical chest on board; and my only attendant (a sailor lad) manufactured a sort of adhesive plaster, to prevent the stump of the shoulder from protruding. Thus terminated my connec-



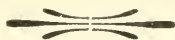
tion with the XX Regiment and that glorious Peninsular army. In simple justice to the conduct of our chivalrous enemy, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of recording that when the French army evacuated the Spanish territory, our wounded men left behind us on the Heights of Lindouz were retaken; and they had been treated with the most marked attention by the French surgeons; our men said they had been frequently complimented by French officers for the gallantry displayed by the regiment on the 25th July in the pass of Roncesvalles. The fact is, the enemy were astonished at the devotion they witnessed on that day, and no doubt it had the effect of making them more cautious how they advanced against us through the mist. In this short expedition of ten days the French, by their own showing, lost 15,000 men; our loss for the same period was above 6,000. On my arrival in England, on the recommendation of Major-General Ross, I was appointed to a company in the 2nd Battalion 41st Regiment. At the peace the battalion was reduced, and I was subsequently rewarded with Brevet rank for service in the field, having assisted in earning four badges for my regiment. I own that I feel disappointed in not obtaining a decoration, medals having been profusely bestowed on the Waterloo army. I am of opinion that a medal is the most appropriate reward for service in the field—one which I feel convinced would be most prized by a soldier. It would go far to show that the man had fought his country's battles, and that his scars and mutilated limbs were not the consequence of mere accident; and though I have no reason to complain individually for not having been rewarded, yet this omission caused General Sir William Napier to conclude his graphic history of the Peninsula campaigns with the quaint remark: "Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrances of the veterans services."

(Signed) J. H. B., Bt.-Major (unattached).

1841.

P.S. 1850.—The foregoing narrative was written several years ago for my children, who wished me to detail the circumstances attending the loss of my arm. Since that period our kind and

considerate Queen (God bless her) has commanded a medal to be struck with clasps to record the battles of the Peninsula. True it is that few of the old veterans survive to receive this long-wished-for mark of their Sovereign's approval of past services; nevertheless, the justice of their claim to honourable distinction is at length conceded, and they are now, though diminished in numbers, enabled to meet their more fortunate comrades of Waterloo and India on terms of equality as regards military decorations. I have received four clasps, one Vimiera, two Coruña, three Vittoria, four Pyrenees, the only badges earned by the regiment during the period of my service; but, in my opinion, the regiment deserved an additional badge for Roncesvalles. It was specially mentioned in the published despatches, as having distinguished itself in defending the pass, and I repeat that the stubborn gallantry of Ross's brigade, more particularly the XX, in resisting the first impetuous attack, saved the army. As Ensign in the XX the regimental colours (with the *old Minden Rose*) were in my keeping through the entire Coruña retreat, always in the rearguard; after the battle of the 16th January, in a pitchy dark night we marched down to the beach to embark. Owing to a mistake of the naval officer in charge of the boat, the two Ensigns with the colours and about a dozen men were taken on board a wrong transport, at day light, without affording us the means to remove to our headquarters' ship, and probably fearing capture, for the enemy had brought several of their guns to bear upon the shipping, the Captain most improperly cut his cable and stood out to sea. Stormy weather in the Bay of Biscay detained us many days, and I did not see the regiment again until its arrival at Portsmouth two or three weeks afterwards. Poor Colonel Ross was delighted beyond measure to possess his colours again.



LETTERS OF CAPTAIN J. KINCAID, RIFLE BRIGADE,  
AND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. TOVEY,

THESE letters appeared in the *United Service Journal* of 1839. They form part of a correspondence which was published in that journal during 1839-40, on the subject of the bayonet as a weapon. In proof of the value of the bayonet in close quarters, Captain Kincaid, Rifle Brigade, instanced the charge of Captain Tovey's company at Roncesvalles, and called upon the latter to pronounce upon its authenticity. To this circumstance we are indebted for the extremely interesting and modest reply of Colonel Tovey.

Another correspondent (Steel) mentioned the charge of the Light Company of the XX, at Maida, and stated that he had seen a man of the XX kill, with the bayonet, three Frenchmen, in as many minutes.

## CAPTAIN KINCAID'S LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

"When Soult advanced into the Pyrenees, in 1813, with the intention of relieving Pampeluna, the pass of Maya (I think it was) was held by the 4th Division. I forget whether my informant told me that an outpost had been surprised, but certain it is, their division was very much surprised one fine morning, to find the rugged ground in front of their encampment occupied by the enemy, who, without any ceremony, began blazing into their tents. Such things cannot occur without exciting especial wonder. The soldiers, half dressed, began hurrying to arms, women and donkeys screaming, staff officers madly galloping about, ordering and expecting impossibilities. The balls came flying thicker and faster from the enemy's rapidly-increasing numbers, and the moment was fraught with disaster, when a gallant centurion, a choice spirit of the old XX, at once came forth in character; his hundred bayonets quickly rallied at his call, and needing no order, with an enemy in front and disorder among his friends, he at once gave his own orders, 'Fix bayonets, trail arms, double quick, forward!' In five minutes there was not a living Frenchman in the field. Their skir-

mishers fled before him, and, in the sight of their division, he with his single company, with desperate and reckless charge, dashed into the head of a whole column of French infantry which had already gained the heights, overthrew them, and sent their whole mass rolling headlong and panicstricken into the valley below. It was one of the most brilliant feats of the war. It gave his division time to form and to commence that orderly and splendid retreat which terminated on the victorious field in front of Pampenula. George Tovey, where are you? for I have scarcely seen, scarcely exchanged two words with you, since these glorious days departed. Twenty-six years have rolled over my head since this tale was told me by a brother officer of yours; the details may, therefore, be faulty, though substantially correct. I call upon you, as the hero of it, to inform the world whether you ever saw a British bayonet used; for if you brought your gallant band from that triumphant fray with bloodless weapons, you have been woefully belied. Lieutenant-Colonel George Tovey, I say, come forth! for if you do not, by my pen I swear that I will continue telling tales of the same kind against you, until I kindle such a flame in your cheek as may set fire to your scarlet coat, and make a hole in your half pay, which it can ill afford; for though the illustrious Wellington rewarded you, at the moment, with a Brevet-Majority, it was all that the miserable policy of the rulers of that day, at home, permitted him to bestow. Men of minor note have since been exhibiting their pictures in panoramas and print-shop windows, while all the public has ever seen or heard of you is, when some hungry hotel-keeper at Cheltenham, or elsewhere, finds Lieutenant-Colonel tacked to your name and sticks it in the newspaper as a lure for others, not knowing or caring who George Tovey is. This must no longer be; and again I say, come forth, and for the honour of your bayonet answer for your charge! You may not thank me for the call, but I know the public will, for drawing aside the curtain which so long hung between them and you.

“Signed) J. KINCAID.”

Captain Kincaid's letter was successful in bringing forth Lieutenant-Colonel George Tovey. The following is his reply:

“Mr. Editor.—In the last number of your journal there is a letter from the gallant rifleman (Captain Kincaid), who, during the last French war, had so many opportunities of appreciating the value of a British soldier. As there are one or two trifling inaccuracies, and I have been, besides, called upon by name to pronounce upon the authenticity of the bayonet encounter he has related, I shall do so as briefly as possible. In the first place, the 4th Division, on the 25th July, 1813, did not occupy the pass of Maya; they were between it and Roncesvalles. Secondly, the division had been expecting an attack that morning, and the XX were lying in column by their arms. It was daylight when a German sergeant of the Brunswick Oel Corps, who had been out in front, came in haste to tell us that the enemy were close upon us, and that they had made the Spanish piquet (who were posted to give us intelligence) prisoners without firing a shot. The left wing of the XX was moved instantly to form upon some strong ground in the direction they were coming; and, while doing so, the enemy's light troops opened so galling a fire that Major-General Ross, who was on the spot, called out for a company to go in front. Without waiting for orders, I pushed out with mine, and, in *close order and double quick*, cleared away the skirmishers from a sort of plateau. They did not wait for us, and, on reaching the opposite side, we came so suddenly on the head of the enemy's infantry column, who had just gained a footing on the summit of the hill, that the men of my company absolutely paused in astonishment, for we were *face to face* with them, and the French officer called to us to *disarm*; I repeated *bayonet away, bayonet away*, and, rushing headlong amongst them, we fairly turned them back into the descent of the hill; and such was the panic and confusion occasioned among them by our sudden onset, that this small party, for such it was compared to the French column, had time to regain the regiment, but my military readers may rest assured that it was required to be done in *double quick*. The enemy had many killed, and the leading French officer fell close at my feet, with two others, *all bayoneted*. The company, with which I was the only officer present on this occasion, did not amount to

more than between seventy or eighty men, and we had eleven killed and fourteen wounded. I appeal to those of the 4th Division who witnessed this affair, whether I have arrogated to myself more than this handful of British soldiers are entitled to. I have now responded to the call of the brave rifleman, and followed up his random shot by a *bayonet thrust*; and as it is, in all probability, my last, either in the field or in print, I shall conclude by strongly advising our young soldiers to receive with caution the lucubrations of theorists, when opposed to the practical essays of the Duke of Wellington and other great commanders, who have figured in history since the first invention of the bayonet.

“(Signed) GEORGE TOVEY, Lieutenant-Colonel.

“Stanmore, 16th October, 1839.

“N.B.—A powerful man of the name of Budworth returned with only the *blood-soiled* socket of the bayonet on his piece; and he declared he had killed away until his bayonet broke; and I am confident, from the reckless and intrepid nature of the man, that he had done so.”





## LADY HARRIET ACLAND.

DURING the great civil war between England and her American colonies, few circumstances attracted more attention at the time than the adventures of Lady Harriet Acland—wife of Major Acland, XX Regiment—whose affectionate solicitude for her husband's safety, endurance of hardship, and courage in the face of peril, made her the idol of General Burgoyne's unfortunate army, the theme of praise in the poets' corner of many an old periodical, and the heroine of a deep, though now forgotten, interest.<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind that, though figuring in the scenes about to be narrated, she was a woman of delicate form, gentle nature, and high birth.<sup>2</sup>

Lady C. Harriet C. Fox-Strangeways, third daughter of the first Earl of Ilchester, was born on the 3rd January, 1750, and married at Redlynch Park, Somersetshire, in November, 1771, John Dyke Acland, of Pixton. Lady Harriet accompanied her husband, whose regiment with ten other corps, all so weak that they mustered only some seven thousand bayonets, began the campaign of that year under Lieutenant-General Sir Guy Carleton, and, in common with the troops, she endured the most severe extremities of cold, wet, and hunger, while traversing a vast extent of wild country, till the Americans raised the siege of Quebec, made a precipitate retreat, and, from the various posts occupied by them in Canada, were driven over the frontier into the United States. After this, her husband's regiment was stationed in the pleasant little Isle Aux Noix, at the north end of the beautiful Lake Champlain, where they passed the winter.

When, in the spring of 1777, the XX under Lieutenant-Colonel Lind was selected to form part of the expedition commanded by General Burgoyne for the reduction of Ticonderoga,

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<sup>1</sup> *Magazine of American History*, January, 1880, and *Lippincott's Magazine*, October, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> General Gates, U.S. Army, in writing to his wife, said of Lady Harriet, "She is the most amiable, delicate piece of quality you ever beheld."



and to force his way to Albany, Lady Harriet resolved to accompany her husband on board the armed flotilla; but, as a severe engagement was expected, he insisted on her remaining at the Isle Aux Noix until the affair was decided, and they parted with mournful forebodings. After a pleasant voyage down the lake, the troops landed at Crown Point, whence the march began. The flank companies—Grenadiers and Light Infantry—of the corps composing the expedition being now under the command of Major Acland, he was employed without intermission on outpost duty, in skirmishing, and harassing the rear of the retreating Americans; and so incessant was the perilous work that his officers and men never had their uniforms off, but slept in their bivouacs booted and belted. At the battle of Hubbardton, Major Acland was wounded in the thigh.<sup>1</sup> Lady Harriet, who had been all this time with the other ladies of the army at the Isle Aux Noix, became so filled with alarm and anxiety, that, despite the arguments of those around her, she resolved to proceed to the front to rejoin her husband at all hazard, and become his nurse.<sup>2</sup> Amid tempestuous weather, though the season was summer, by a proffer of a large reward, she prevailed upon four boatmen to take her across the lake to a point near the place where her husband lay wounded. She discovered Major Acland in a poor American log-house, and there tended and nursed him until he was well enough to rejoin the army.

At Fort Edward, a village then consisting of twenty log-huts on the eastern bank of the Hudson, she purchased, or had constructed, a kind of vehicle, which was fashioned by two artillery gunners out of an old tumbril or ammunition cart, and in this impromptu carriage she resolved to follow throughout the campaign the fortunes of her husband, who could by no entreaties prevail upon her to remain in the rear, or in a place of safety. During a halt at this time, their tent was set on fire, by a Newfoundland dog upsetting a candle during the night, when they were asleep.<sup>3</sup> "An orderly sergeant of the Grenadiers," (states

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<sup>1</sup> *Anburey*, vol. i., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 359.

an old magazine) "at great personal hazard, saved both their lives, by dragging them out of the burning tent," but everything they had with them was destroyed. As our troops advanced, the Americans retreated; the country became a wilderness full of obstructions; and the formation of no less than forty new bridges, with the repairs of others, became necessary; while one, formed of logs, was two miles in length, to enable the army to cross a morass.<sup>1</sup>

Yet on toiled our stubborn British infantry, in their quaint, old-fashioned regimentals, with square skirts buttoned back, their pipe-clayed breeches and black leggings, long queues and kevenhuller hats; while the keen American riflemen, and treacherous Indians with war-paint, plume, and hunting shirt, used by turns the tomahawk, the knife, and the bullet, as they hovered on their flanks. On the 30th July, General Burgoyne halted on the banks of the Hudson, in the heart of the revolted provinces, where he was deserted by the Indians and the majority of the Canadian volunteers. Difficulties surrounded him on every side; the haversacks of the soldiers were empty, and starvation menaced them daily, till the middle of September, when the Hudson was crossed. On the 19th the battle of Freeman's Farm was fought, when Major Acland again led the flank companies into action. Lady Harriet remained in a small hut, which she had discovered in rear of the field, the terrors of which she could see at a little distance. During the whole engagement, the poor wife, in her hut, heard the din of the cannonading and the musketry; and saw the wounded and the dying borne past her, or crawling to the rear. A thousand episodes of horror and affright had been before her. She knew that the post of her husband, as leader of the flank companies, was one of the greatest risk, and every moment she had the terrible expectation of seeing him brought in wounded, maimed, or, it might be, a shattered corpse. Lady Harriet had the sorrow to see, ere long, the hut in which she had taken shelter crowded to the door with wounded and suffering soldiers, sent there by the surgeons for attendance; and a climax was nearly put to her misery, when

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<sup>1</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, p. 268.

two Grenadiers of the XX, the old regiment of "Wolfe" and "Kingsley," bore in between them one whom she supposed to be her husband, but who proved to be Major Harnage, of the 62nd, severely wounded and covered with blood<sup>1</sup> On the 7th of October ensued the engagement called the battle of Bemus Heights—before the retreat to Saratoga, when sixteen thousand Americans, under Major-General Gates, surrounded Burgoyne's little force, consisting of only three thousand five hundred men, famine stricken, worn out with toil and incessant fighting, and being now without horses or baggage. Lady Harriet, without a tent or hut, and bivouacked on the bare ground, among the sick and wounded, was a spectator of that hopeless conflict. Major Acland at the head of the Grenadiers covered the left wing of the British. He sustained a severe attack from a vast column of Americans, whose great extent of front enabled them to engage the whole line of our Hessian Infantry. The 24th Regiment, advancing as a support, had in the end to give way; and in the dusk of the autumn evening Lady Harriet, who had all day been hovering near the field, learned that the troops were falling back on all sides, that Brigadier Frazer was expiring of a mortal wound, that Sir F. C. Clark, Burgoyne's favourite aide-de-camp, had been wounded by his side, and that her husband had been severely—rumour said mortally—wounded and taken prisoner. She passed the night among the discomfited troops, with the dead and the dying, in the vicinity of the disastrous field.<sup>2</sup> Next day, Lady Harriet hastened to General Burgoyne, and implored him "to afford her such assistance as would enable her to pass over to the enemy's camp that she might join her wounded husband, and to obtain the permission of General Gates for this purpose."

Though her patience, fortitude, and tenderness were not unknown to Burgoyne, he was surprised and perplexed by this proposal, and at such a time, for the suppliant was in a situation requiring for herself the most tender care; moreover, she had been for many days and nights drenched by the autumnal rains

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<sup>1</sup> He survived, and was Colonel of the 104th Regiment in 1782.

<sup>2</sup> *Anburey*, vol. i., p. 379.

in the open bivouac, and had frequently been without food and the common necessities of life; and for a delicate woman, on the eve of becoming a mother, to leave the camp at night, to pass through a hostile district swarming with discontented Indians, Canadian deserters, lawless Colonists, and desperadoes of every kind, seemed to him "an effort above human nature."

The narrative is best continued in General Burgoyne's own words:—"The assistance I was enabled to give her was small indeed, I had not even a cup of wine to offer her; but I was told that she had found, from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could furnish to her was an open boat and a few lines, written upon dirty and wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Brudenell, the Chaplain, readily undertook to accompany her, and with one female servant, and the Major's servant—a private of the XX who had a wound, which he received in the last action, in his shoulder—she rowed down the river to meet the enemy.<sup>2</sup> The night was cold and miserable, and in the dark the little craft was rowed down the Hudson by Mr. Brudenell and the soldier. On reaching the enemy's advanced post the sentinel would not allow the boat to pass, or to come ashore. In vain the Chaplain urged that he was a man of peace and the bearer of a flag of truce; told them who his companion was and her purpose; but apprehensions of treachery made the officer commanding the outpost obdurate; and so for eight hours her sufferings and anxiety were prolonged. At daybreak she was permitted to come ashore, but in a most deplorable condition.<sup>3</sup> The American officer was touched by her appearance, and instantly conducted her to General Gates, who received her with all the politeness and humanity her merits, character, and rank deserved, and through the lines of the American army, amid thousands of curious eyes, she was led with respect to the tent

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<sup>1</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, p. 298; *State of the Expedition*, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Stanhope's *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 275; and *Anburey*, vol. i., p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> *Political and Military Episodes*, p. 298; and *Anburey*, vol. ii., p. 57.

where her husband was lying wounded. All her sufferings were then rewarded, and she nursed him with all the tenderness which seldom fails in producing a happy result, when ministered by the loving hands of wife or mother. Four days after Lady Acland left the British camp, Burgoyne surrendered, and the army agreed to lay down their arms at Saratoga. Major Acland was released in December, 1777, and at once proceeded with his wife to New York, where a son was born early in the next year, and whence they returned to England.

Lady Acland's son John succeeded his grandfather as eighth baronet, in 1785, but died the same year. The daughter, Elizabeth Kitty, received a portion of the family estates at her brother's death; and on the 26th April, 1796, she married Henry George, second Earl of Carnarvon. She died 5th March, 1831, leaving two sons and three daughters; one of her grandsons is the fourth or present earl.<sup>1</sup> Lady Harriet Acland died 21st July, 1815, after thirty-seven years of widowhood.

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<sup>1</sup> Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*.





## SURGEON ARCHIBALD ARNOTT.

ARCHIBALD ARNOTT, M.D., joined the army as Hospital Assistant on the 14th April, 1795, and was appointed Assistant Surgeon of the 11th Light Dragoons on the 25th December, 1796; being promoted Surgeon of the XX Regiment on August 23rd, 1799. He proceeded to Holland with the corps; was present at the storming of the intrenchments at Krabbendam, and at both the actions fought at Egmont-op-Zee. His next service with the XX was at Minorca, thence he went to Egypt, and was present at the storming of the Forts at Alexandria. On the reduction, in 1802, of the regiment by one battalion, Doctor Arnott was placed on half pay, but was restored to active employment in the 1st Battalion on the 17th May, 1803. He served with the regiment in Malta, Sicily, Calabria, and was present at the battle of Maida. He was with the regiment in Portugal, being present at the battle of Vimiera, and in the retreat on Coruña. After a brief stay in England, he accompanied the XX on the Walcheren expedition, where the corps was decimated by fever, from the effects of which the regiment required two years' home service to recover. In 1812, Doctor Arnott again accompanied the XX to Portugal, serving in Lord Wellington's campaigns until the end of the war, including the battle of Vittoria, all the actions in the Pyrenees, in which the XX took part, and the battles of Nivelles, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse. He served with the XX in Ireland from 1814 to 1819, embarking for St. Helena in the latter year. At St. Helena, there occurred the most remarkable and eventful incident of Doctor Arnott's career; this was his professional attendance on the Emperor Napoleon during his last illness. He was called in to see the Emperor (having been previously consulted by Professor Antommarchi, the Corsican physician) about half-past ten on the night of the 1st April, 1821. The room was perfectly dark, and he could barely distinguish the form of Napoleon as he lay on his camp bed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Last Moments of Napoleon*, F. Antommarchi (Corsican physician to the Emperor), vol. ii, pp. 60-70.

From this date he saw the Emperor daily, who always conversed with him in a friendly and affable manner. On the 14th of April, Napoleon presented the *Life of Marlborough* through him to the officers of the XX;<sup>1</sup> and on the 19th made his celebrated denunciation of the British Government.<sup>2</sup> The Doctor's professional ability, together with his kind and gentle manner, soon secured for him the full confidence of Napoleon; the good opinion of the illustrious patient was strengthened by the daily interviews, and ripened into a warm personal attachment and sincere esteem, which were respectfully reciprocated by Doctor Arnott. A few days previous to his death, Napoleon gave a very interesting testimony of his respect for Dr. Arnott. He desired that a valuable gold snuff-box might be brought to him, and having with his dying hand, and last effort of departing strength, engraved upon its lid with a penknife the letter "N." he presented it to him.<sup>3</sup> On the 3rd of May, he gave instructions that, should he become insensible, no English physician but Arnott was to touch him.<sup>4</sup> Doctor Arnott was present at the death of Napoleon, which occurred at forty-nine minutes past five in the afternoon of the 5th May. The Emperor bequeathed to Arnott the sum of six hundred Napoleons, and the British Government granted him a gratuity of five hundred pounds. Surgeon Arnott went with the XX to India in 1822, and retired upon half pay on the 25th of December, 1826, having completed thirty years' service, twenty-seven of which were passed in the XX. The following particulars of Doctor Arnott's life subsequent to his leaving the regiment are taken from the obituary notices which appeared in the daily papers at the time of his death. Doctor Arnott was almost the last survivor of those whose names will be handed down to posterity in connection with the events of the last days of Napoleon, and he had a rich fund of recollections

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlv, p. 324; and *Reminiscences of My Military Life*, p. 62. On June 18th, 1900, this gold snuff-box was sold at Sotheby's for £140. A lock of the Emperor's hair was sold on the same day for £20 10s.

<sup>4</sup> *Last Moments of Napoleon*, vol. ii, p. 148.



and anecdotes of the period. These would have been read with interest, but, except a clear and distinct Account of the last Illness, Decease, and Post-mortem Appearances of Napoleon,<sup>1</sup> published in 1822, he could never be induced to commit them to print, being reluctant to mingle publicly in the keen and painful controversy of the time, although never concealing his opinion in private conversation. From the sphere of public duty Dr. Arnott retired to his native parish, and there, on his patrimonial estate of Kirconnell Hall, spent the evening of his days beneficially to the neighbourhood and honourably to himself; universally respected for his exemplary conduct in private life, and for the attention with which he discharged the duties of a magistrate and landlord. He sought in all ways to be useful to the community, his overflowing kindness, amiable manners, and readiness at every call to exert, gratuitously, his professional skill for the relief of the afflicted, endearing him alike in the halls of the rich and in the cottages of the poor. Few men have enjoyed a larger share of the affection and esteem of their contemporaries, or have left behind them a more pleasing impression upon the minds of survivors. Doctor Arnott died at Kirconnell Hall, Dumfriesshire, on the 6th of July, 1855, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A pamphlet of thirty-nine pages, a purely professional work.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlv, p. 324.



## CANADIAN AFFAIRS.

THE number of officers of the XX who have taken a conspicuous part in the early and critical periods in the history of Canada, and during the American War of Independence, is very remarkable.

It is unnecessary to make but a passing mention of the services of Wolfe at Louisbourg and Quebec, which terminated with his life on the Plains of Abraham. Wolfe's advance guard up the Heights of Abraham was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. W. Howe, who had served six years in the XX under Wolfe. This officer subsequently commanded a division of the army whose headquarters were fixed at Philadelphia.

Colonel Hon. George Townshend, one of Wolfe's Brigadiers, had also been a Captain in the XX.

The founder and first Governor of the province of Nova Scotia was Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. Edward Cornwallis, XX; and the first Governor of New Brunswick was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Carleton, who had served over twenty-one years in the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel John Parr was Governor of Nova Scotia for nine years (1782-1791).

Lord George Germain, to whom his contemporaries and history assign the questionable distinction of sharing the responsibility for the loss of the American colonies, commanded the regiment for some years. The Earl of Shelburne, who took a very prominent part in attacking the Government, of which Lord George Germain was a member, for their mismanagement of American affairs, and particularly in regard to their instructions to the commanders of the army in America, served in the XX during Wolfe's command.

Major Acland commanded the Grenadiers of Burgoyne's army, and commenced the battles of Hubbardton, Freeman's Farm, and Bemus Heights. The advance guard (composed of Indians so long as they remained with army) was led by Major T.

Carleton; this officer was also Quartermaster-General to the army at Montreal and New York, under Sir Guy Carleton. The Canadian rebellion of 1838 was suppressed by Sir John Colborne, and lastly, although it does not come within the limit of this notice, Major-General Robert Ross fell at the head of the army at Baltimore.



## LIST OF OFFICERS.

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Dated, War Office, Whitehall, 20th March, 1739-40.

COLONEL ST. GEORGE'S REGIMENT OF FOOT.  
(AFTERWARDS XX).

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COLONEL—Richard St. George, 27th June, 1737.

LIEUT.-COLONEL—John Bateman, 25th June, 1722.

MAJOR—Robert Catherwood<sup>†</sup>, 31st August, 1739.

## CAPTAINS.

Robert Johnston, 25th June, 1722; James Gendrault, 5th July, 1725; John Vickars, 26th June, 1730; Anthony Meyrac, 1st August, 1733; Cromwell Ward, 26th August, 1737; John Price, 28th August, 1737; Francis Roussilliere, 31st August, 1739.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT—Arthur Horseman, 31st August, 1739.

## LIEUTENANTS.

John Williams, 25th June, 1722; Robert Cambie, 24th November, 1722; Robert Hart, 17th April, 1732; Christopher Turner, 1st August, 1733; Homer Maxwell, 23rd January, 1735; William Lockart, 14th February, 1735; Lewis Bouchetiere, 16th January, 1736; James Ash, 26th August, 1737; Daniel Robertson, 28th August, 1737.

## ENSIGNS.

John Vickars, 19th April, 1731; John Beckwith, 1st June, 1733; Talbot William Keene, 14th February, 1735; Alex. Trapeau, 23rd February, 1735-6; Richard<sup>†</sup> King, 26th August, 1737; Richard St. George, 28th August, 1737; Bolton Barrington, 27th February, 1737-8; Walter Johnston, 27th February, 1737-8; Thomas Dalton, 31st August, 1739.\*

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\* Taken from the first Official Army List published in 1741.

1st March, 1763.

COLONEL: William Kingsley, 22nd May, 1756; Lieut.-General.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: John Beckwith, April 21st, 1758.

MAJOR: John Maxwell, 8th May, 1758 (Lieut.-Colonel, 26th January, 1761.

#### CAPTAINS.

John Parr, 4th January, 1756 (Major, April 20th, 1762); David Parry, August 26th, 1759; Thomas Carlton, August 27th, 1759; George St. George, April 1st, 1761; James King, December 22nd, 1761; James Stuart, February 24th, 1762.

#### CAPTAIN-LIEUT.

Henry Conyngham, December 22nd, 1761.

#### LIEUTENANTS.

Luke Nugent, August 28th, 1756; George Denshire, August 30th, 1756; Thomas Pringle, August 31st, 1756; John Sponge, September 1st, 1756; William Nugent, September 7th, 1756; Francis Wemyss, September 26th, 1757; Thomas Thompson, September 29th, 1757; William Dent, August 24th, 1759; Wm. Renton, August 25th, 1759; Bolton Power, August 26th, 1759; John Stenhouse, November 24th, 1759; Nevin Irwin, August 2nd, 1760; Daniel Brick, December 20th; Robert Carmichael, April 1st, 1761; Thomas Kitson, May 20th; John Paterson, December 22nd; Hugh Clarke, May 7th, 1762; Wm. Madox Richardson, September 27th.

#### ENSIGNS.

James Bowie, November 24th, 1759; Charles Boyd, December 20th, 1760; William Dalrymple, February 11th, 1761; Richard Dowling, April 1st, 1761; John Redin, December 22nd, 1761; John Wood, May 7th, 1762; John Gaskill, May 8th, 1762; William Maxwell, September 27th, 1762.

CHAPLAIN: Thomas Dade, August 2nd, 1760.

ADJUTANT: Thomas Pringle, September 14th, 1759.

QUARTER-MASTER: James Clarke, June 27th, 1748.

SURGEON: George Fred Boyd, May 5th, 1746.

1767.

COLONEL: Wm. Kingsley, May 22nd, 1756; Lieut.-General, December 13th, 1760.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: John Maxwell.

MAJOR: John Parr.

## CAPTAINS.

David Parry, Thomas Carleton, George St. George, James King, Hon. James Stuart, Henry Conyngham.

## LIEUTENANTS.

George Denshire, Thomas Pringle (Captain, December 4th, 1762), John Sponge, Francis Wemyss, William Renton, William Dalrymple, James Rollinson, Lill Thompson, Thomas Loftus.

## ENSIGNS.

Lieut. Bolton Power, Lieut. John Stenhouse, Richard Dowling, John Redin, John Wood, John Gaskill, William Maxwell, George Meggs.

CHAPLAIN: Thomas Dade.

ADJUTANT: Thomas Pringle (September 14th, 1759).

QUARTER-MASTER: John Stenhouse.

SURGEON: John Fleming (April 20th, 1573).

## XX 1775.—IRELAND.

COLONEL: H. M. Geo. Lane Parker, 1st May, 1773.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: John Parr, 26th January, 1770.

MAJOR: David Parry, 26th January, 1770.

## CAPTAINS.

Thomas Carleton (Major, 23rd July, 1772), Henry Conyngham, John Stenhouse, Luke Nugent, John MacDonell (Major, 23rd July, 1772), William Dalrymple, James Rollinson.

CAPTAIN-LIEUT.: Francis Wemyss (Captain, 3rd May, 1774).

## LIEUTENANTS.

Wm. Renton, Bolton Power, Thomas Loftus, Richard Dowling, John Gaskill, Wm. Maxwell, Rt. Wm. Winchester, Henry Harrington, John Stanley, Hugh, Baillie, Richard Norman.

In 1774: Thomas Wood, Charles Coote.

## ENSIGNS.

Walter Raleigh Gilbert, John Lloyd, Richard Crofts, Clifton Wheat, Wm. Charlton, John Cooke, Edward Smyth, Michael Ovins.

CHAPLAIN : Thomas Dade.

ADJUTANT : Richard Dowling.

QUARTER-MASTER : Wm. Renton.

SURGEON : Matthew Cahill (13th September, 1769).

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25th of May, 1789.

XX (OR THE EAST DEVONSHIRE).

(W.O., 25th May, 1789).

COLONEL : West Hyde, 17th March, 1789, Major-General.

LIEUT.-COLONEL : John Lind, 6th May, 1776 (Colonel, 20th November, 1782).

MAJOR : Hon. S. D. Strangways, 1st December, 1778 (Lieut.-Colonel, 28th August, 1783).

## CAPTAINS.

James Rollinson, 3rd March, 1772 (Major 7th June, 1782); Robert Wm. Winchester, 9th December, 1775; Wm. Farquhar, 13th May, 1776 (Major, 19th March, 1783); Paul Banks, Kt., 11th November, 1776; Thomas Story, 9th June, 1784; David Clephane, 19th March, 1785; John Lloyd, 30th September, 1787.

CAPT.-LIEUT. AND CAPTAIN : Robert Dobson, 26th December, 1787.

## LIEUTENANTS.

Richard Bateman, 20th September, 1777; Joseph Brooke, 8th November, 1781; Morgan Connell, 25th February, 1782; Henry May, 13th December, 1782; Edward Hadden, 28th December, 1784; George Williams, 27th August, 1785; Isaac Tinling, 3rd December, 1785; John Eccles, 26th August, 1786; Robt. Alex. Dalziel, 30th June, 1787; Ambrose L. Wynyard, 26th December, 1787; Wm. Blundell, 31st May, 1788.



## ENSIGNS.

Robert Smith. 27th August, 1785; Manly Power, 27th August, 1785; William Weller, 14th February, 1786; Essex W. Edgeworth, 5th February, 1787; Robert Walker, 30th June, 1787; Edward Blennerhasset, 30th September, 1787; Edward O'Brien, 26th December, 1787; Robert Nugent, 28th February, 1788.

CHAPLAIN: Charles Ballard, 26th August, 1786.

ADJUTANT: Ambrose L. Wynard, 24th December, 1785.

QUARTER-MASTER: Wm. Anderson, 14th April, 1783.

SURGEON: M. B. Carroll, 7th April, 1784.

February, 1793.

COLONEL: West Hyde, 12th March, 1789.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: John Lind, 6th January, 1776 (Colonel, 20th November, 1782).

MAJOR: James Rollinson, 12th December, 1792 (7th June, 1782).

## CAPTAINS.

Wm. Farquhar, 13th May, 1776 (Major, 19th March, 1783); Thomas Story, 9th June, 1784; David Clephane, 9th March, 1785; Robert Dobson, 26th December, 1787; James Fenton, 9th May, 1790; Geo. Burgess Morden, 2nd March, 1791; Richd. Bateman, 25th April, 1792.

CAPTAIN-LIEUT. AND CAPTAIN: Joseph Brooke, 12th December, 1792.

## LIEUTENANTS.

Henry May, 13th December, 1782; Edward Hadden, 28th December, 1784; George Williams, 27th August, 1785; Isaac Tinling, 3rd December, 1785; John Eccles, 26th August, 1786; Manly Power, 4th May, 1789; Essex W. Edgeworth, 24th November, 1790; Robert Walker, 16th February, 1791; Edward Blennerhasset, 25th April, 1792; Edward O'Brien, 12th December, 1792; Robert Nugent, 13th December, 1792.

## ENSIGNS.

P. Brooke Ravencroft, 4th May. 1789; Philip Crosby Weldon, 5th May, 1790; Wm. Smith, 9th March, 1791; John Dalton, 16th March, 1791; Charles Dering, 17th February, 1792; Peter Dutens, 25th April, 1792; Ed. Pinnock Wallen, 14th December, 1792; John Steward, 15th December, 1792.

CHAPLAIN: Charles Ballard, 26th August, 1786.

ADJUTANT: William Smith, 12th December, 1792.

QUARTER-MASTER: Wm. Anderson, 14th April, 1783.

SURGEON: Mark Bush Carroll, 7th April, 1784.

Two Battalions in 1800:—

COLONEL: Charles Leigh, Lieut.-General.

COLONEL-COMMANDANT: Lord Charles Fitzroy, Major-General.

## LIEUT.-COLONELS.

Forbes Champagné David Clephane, George Smyth, Joseph Brooke.

## MAJORS.

Robert Ross, George Williams, Manley Power, David Walker.

## CAPTAINS.

Henry Powlett, Philip C. Weldon, John Maister, William Wallace, Alex. J. Chalmers, Robert Charles Newman, Murdoch Maclean, Henry Shelley, Amadie Harcourt, Charles Stevens, Edmund Byron, Arthur Loyd, Thomas Brabazon Aylmer, Thos. Hipkins.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTS. AND CAPTAINS: John Colborne, Alexander Rose.

## LIEUTENANTS.

Samuel Hodges, Henry W. Walker, Charles des Vœux, Philip C. Cornell, John Fulton, Maxwell Close, Samuel South, Thomas Hunter, Robert L. Colville, William H. Shackerly, W. Rowley Moore, Henry Charles Steele, Alphonso Pierrepont, Edward B. Mostyn, John Berger, John Murray, Wm. L. L. Pilkington, Peter Robinson, Ralph Errington, Edward Jackson, William Russell, Brerton Watson, Murdoch MacKenzie, John

Goodwin, Thomas Gore, Peter Dumas, Blake Lynch, Thomas Stapleton, Thomas Johnson, Francis Ker, Mark Burcher, Robert Carter, Thomas Kitchen, C. H. Drewery, Isaac H. Hewett, David de Lisle, Henry Bromwich.

#### ENSIGNS.

John Wardner Gray, Charles Blomer, William Lyons, William Hamilton, George Montgomery, Edward Carteret, W. W. Harding, John Shaw, Luke Crohan, David McArthur. — Bainbridge, — Percy, — Tyler, Robert Telford.

PAYMASTERS: Thomas Hipkins, C. George Mainwaring.

ADJUTANTS: Samuel South, Robert Hodgson.

QUARTER-MASTERS: Robert Warren, James Robison.

SURGEONS: George F. Avelyn, Archibald Arnott.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS: — Sowerby, Thomas Casey.

1806:—

COLONEL: Charles Leigh, General.

#### LIEUT.-COLONELS.

Forbes Champagné, Major-General; David Clephane, Colonel.

#### MAJORS.

Robert Ross (Lieut.-Colonel): David Walker.

#### CAPTAINS.

Percy C. Weldon, William Wallace, Murdoch Maclean, John Colborne, Charles Stevens, Edmund Byron, Alexander Rose, James Bent, Frederick Hervey, Samuel South.

#### LIEUTENANTS.

C. Alphonzo Pierrepont, John Murray, Peter Robinson, Edward Jackson, William Russell, Murdoch MacKenzie, Thomas Gore, Peter Dumas, Blake Lynch, Robert Carter, John Cuthbert, George Montgomery, Frederick Corbin, Henry S. Craufurd, W. W. Harding, Robert Telford, H. B. Wood, George Brooke, E. Lutyens, John Hogg, Stephen White, John Purchas, George Tovey.

#### ENSIGNS.

David Augustus Smith, Thomas Francis Wade, Richard Rowson, Thomas Falls. — Montgomery. — Wheeler.

PAYMASTER : Thomas Saunders.

ADJUTANT : Peter Dumas.

QUARTER-MASTER : Robert Warren.

SURGEON : Archibald Arnott.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS : Thomas Casey. William Miller, J. B. Miller.

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1st January, 1810.

COLONEL : Charles Leigh, General.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Robert Ross, Andrew Wauchope.

MAJORS.

William Wallace, Charles Stevens.

CAPTAINS.

Alexander Rose, James Bent, Frederick Hervey, Samuel South, Charles A. Pierrepont, John Murray, Edward Jackson, William Russell, Murdoch MacKenzie, John Hogg, William W. Harding.

LIEUTENANTS.

Henry S. Crauford, Robert Telford, Englebert Lutyens, George Tovey, David A. Smith, Thomas Falls, Edward Summer, Philip Woodehouse, John Rix Blakeley, Hon. Edward Cadogan, J. D. E. St. Aubyn, Forbes Champagné Gladwin Colclough, William Crockatt, John Z. Fonneran, Roger L. Lewis, Frederick Fitzgerald.

ENSIGNS.

John H. Bainbridge, Guy Rotton, James Goldfrap, James White, Edward Kenyon, John Gilbert, Charles Morgan, Perri-man Walker, Charles Connor, Alexander Baillie, George Strode, William Blackiston, Edward Chak, Joseph Wm. Watson, Henry Green, Howel P. Gough, John Smith, Thomas Edwards, John P. Shepherd, Edward Lee Godfrey, John Brown, Richard Buist, George E. Molby, William C. Grove.

PAYMASTER : R. Bloomfield.

ADJUTANT : Richard Buist.

QUARTER-MASTER : — Hough.

SURGEON : Archibald Arnott.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS : William Bytt, David Gordon.

1815

## COLONEL.

Sir J. Stuart, K.C.B., K.C., Count of Maida.

## LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.

Charles Steevens.

## MAJORS.

Samuel South, John Murray.

## CAPTAINS.

Edward Jackson, William Russell (M). John Hogg, George Tovey (M), Robert Telford, Hamlet Obins (M). Englebert Lutyens, D. Aug. Smith, Thomas Falls (M), S. F. Champagné, William Crockat.

## LIEUTENANTS.

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PAYMASTER : J. Bloomfield.

ADJUTANT : J. Storey.

QUARTER-MASTER : Charles Houth.

SURGEON : A. Arnott.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS : D. Gordon, R. Renwick.

1822.

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## MAJORS.

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## CAPTAINS.

George Tovey (M), Englebert Lutyens, Thomas Falls (M), F. Champagné, William Crockat (M), Richard Gethin, Robert Power, Guy Rotton, James White, Charles Harrison, James Goldfrap.

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ENSIGNS—Ambrose Congreve, Giles Eyre, Duncan Darrock, Wm. H. E. M'Dermott, R. B. Martin, Thomas Bayly, Fra. Pitts, Samuel Robbins.

PAYMASTER : Alexander Tovey.

ADJUTANT : J. Storey.

QUARTER-MASTER : J. Dodd.

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